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OUTLINES

OF A

PHILOSOPHY

OF THE

HISTORY OF MAN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

OF

JOHN GODFREY HERDER,

SUPERINTENDANT OF THE CLERGY OF THE DUCHY OF WEIMAR,

BY

T. CHURCHILL.

THE SECOND EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

——— Quem te Deus esse
Jussit, et humana qua parte locatus es in re,
Disce ———

PERS.

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THE moſt ancient kingdoms and ſtates of the Earth have been formed, as far as we learn from hiſtory, ſouthwards, at the feet of the great mountains of Aſia: the natural hiſtory of this quarter of the Globe too preſents us with reaſons, why they could not ſo eaſily be formed to the north as to the ſouth. Needy man, ſeeking to ſupport his earthly frame, readily bends his courſe to thoſe regions, where the ſunbeams ſhed a more genial warmth: for theſe muſt cover the earth with vegetation for his uſe, and ripen it's wholeſome fruits. In the north of Aſia, on this ſide of the mountains, moſt parts are much higher and colder: the chains of mountains wind with more intricacy, and frequently ſeparate lands by their ſnowy ſummits, precipices, and waſtes: fewer ſtreams water the ground, and theſe ultimately flow into the frozen ocean, the barren coaſts of which, the abodes of the white bear and reindeer, could not early have attracted inhabitants. This high, broken, ſteep land, the mountains and precipices of our ancient world, muſt have been for a conſiderable period the habitation

bitation of ſcythians and ſarmatians, mungals and tatars, half-ſavage hunters and nomades; and many parts of it will continue ſo probably for ever. Neceſſity and the circumſtances of the country rendered men barbarous: a thoughtleſs way of life, once become habitual, confirmed itſelf in the wandering tribes, or thoſe that ſeparated from them; and faſhioned amid rude manners that almoſt eternal national character, which ſo completely diſcriminates all the northern aſiatic races from thoſe of the ſouth. As this middle chain of mountains is a permanent ark, a nurſery of almoſt all the wild animals of our hemiſphere, it's inhabitants muſt long remain the companions of theſe animals, taming them with rude hand, or guarding them with gentle care.

To the ſouthward, where the ſurface of Aſia gently declines, where the mountainous chains ſurround more temperate vales, and protect them from the cold northeaſtern wind, migrating colonies, led chiefly by the rivers, gradually drew toward the ſea-coaſts, aſſembled in towns, and formed nations; while a milder climate awakened in them more refined ideas, and gave riſe to leſs rude regulations. At the ſame time, as Nature afforded man more leiſure, and pleaſurably ſtimulated more of his propenſities, his heart expanded in paſſions and irregularities, the flowery weeds of which could not burſt through the ice of the north, or ſpring up under the preſſure of neceſſity: hence various laws and inſtitutions to check them were required. The mind imagined, and the heart luſted: the unruly

paſſions

paſſions of men perpetually claſhed with each other, and were at length obliged to ſubmit to reſtraint. But as deſpotiſm muſt accompliſh what reaſon is yet unable to perform, thoſe ſtructures of policy and religion, which preſent themſelves to us as pyramids and temples of the ancient world in eternal traditions, aroſe in the ſouth of Aſia: valuable documents for the hiſtory of our ſpecies, teaching us, in every fragment, how much the cultivation of human reaſon has coſt mankind.

CHAPTER I.

China.

In the eaſtern corner of Aſia, at the feet of the mountains, lies a country, which calls itſelf the oldeſt of nations, the central flower of the world; and it certainly is one of the moſt ancient, and moſt remarkable. This is China. Not ſo large as Europe, it boaſts a greater number of inhabitants in proportion than this populous quarter of the Globe; for it reckons within it's limits upwards of 25200000 huſbandmen paying taxes, 1572 towns great and ſmall, 1193 caſtles, 3158 ſtone bridges, 2796 temples, 2606 monaſteries, 10809 ancient edifices, &c. *; all of which, with the mountains and rivers,

* Leontiew's extracts of the geography of the empire of China in Bueſching's *Hiſtor. und geogr. Magazin*, Vol. XIV, p. 411, &c. In Hermann's *Beitrægen zur Phyſik*, 'Eſſays on

rivers, ſoldiers and men of letters, manufactures and produce, are annually entered in long catalogues by the eighteen governments, into which the kingdom is divided. Various travellers agree, that, except Europe, and perhaps ancient Egypt, there is no country where ſo much induſtry has been employed on roads and rivers, bridges and canals, and even artificial mountains and rocks, as in China; all which, with it's great wall, bear teſtimony to the patient labour of human hands. Ships proceed from Canton nearly up to Pekin; and the whole empire, divided as it is by mountains and deſerts, has been laboriouſly united by means of roads, canals, and rivers. Villages and towns float on the waters, and the internal commerce between the provinces is briſk and lively. Agriculture is the grand pillar of the conſtitution: we are told of luxuriant fields of corn and rice, of deſerts watered by art, of barren mountains rendered fertile: every plant and herb is cultivated and uſed, of which any uſe can be made: it is the ſame with metals and minerals, gold excepted, their mines of which they do not work. The land abounds with animals; the

Natural Philoſophy,' Vol. I, Berlin, 1786, the extent of the empire is eſtimated at 110000 german miles ſquare [about 1222222 ſquare miles engliſh], and the population at 104069254, nine perſons being reckoned to a family. [Sir G. Staunton gives the population of China proper, within the great wall, from apparently authentic documents, in round numbers, 333000000. It's area, from meaſurement, he ſets down at 1297999 ſquare miles. See Account of an Embaſſy to China, Vol. II, Appendix, Table I. His account of the population of this country, however, has been diſputed by the german critics. T.]

rivers,

rivers, and lakes, with fiſh: the ſilkworm alone ſupports thouſands of induſtrious perſons. People of all ranks and every age, even the blind, the deaf, and the decrepit, find ſome ſpecies of labour, ſome kind of manufacture, to employ them. Gentleneſs and ſubmiſſion, courteous civility and affable behaviour, are what the chineſe ſtudy from infancy, and practiſe through life. Regularity, and preciſely determined order, are the eſſence of their legiſlation and police. The whole ſyſtem of the ſtate, in all the relations and duties, between it's different claſſes, is founded on the reſpect, which the ſon owes to his father, and every ſubject to the father of the nation, who protects and governs them as children, by means of the magiſtrates. Can there be a nobler principle for the government of men? There we find no hereditary nobility; merit alone ennobles in every rank: men of approved worth fill the poſts of honour, and theſe poſts alone confer ſuperiority. The ſubject is forced to embrace no mode of worſhip on compulſion, and the followers of no religion are perſecuted, unleſs their tenets be inimical to the ſtate. The adherents of Confucius, of Laotſee and Fo, and even jews and jeſuits, when received into the ſtate, dwell together in peace. Their laws are unalterably founded on morals; their morals, on the ſacred book of experience; their emperor is their ſovereign pontif, the ſon of Heaven, the protector of ancient cuſtom, the ſoul of the body politic pervading all it's members. If theſe principles be carried into actual practice, and held inviolate, can we conceive a political conſtitution more perfect? The

whole empire would form one family of virtuous, welleducated, orderly, induſtrious, happy children and brothers.

Every one knows the advantageous picture of the chineſe government, ſent to Europe by the miſſionaries in particular, and there admired as a maſterpiece of policy, not only by ſpeculative philoſophers, but even by ſtateſmen; till at length, as it is uſual for the tide of opinion to take oppoſite directions, incredulity aroſe, and would admit neither it's high degree of civilization, nor even it's peculiarities. Some of theſe european objections have had the fortune to be anſwered in China itſelf, though pretty much in the chineſe taſte *; and as moſt of the books that form the foundation of their laws and manners, with an ample hiſtory of the empire, and ſome unqueſtionably impartial accounts, are before us †; it would be

* *Mémoires concernant l'Hiſtoire &c.*, 'Memoirs of the Hiſtory, Sciences, Arts, Manners, Cuſtoms, &c. of the Chineſe', Vol. II, p. 365 and fol.

† Beſide the ancient editions of ſome claſſical books of the chineſe by father Noel, Couplet, and others, the edition of the Shoo-King by Deguignes, the *Hiſtoire général de Chine* by Mailla, the Memoirs quoted in the preceding note, conſiſting of ten volumes quarto, in which tranſlations of ſome original works of the chineſe are inſerted, &c., afford materials enough, for giving juſt ideas of theſe people. Among the various miſſionaries, who have given accounts of them, father le Comte is particularly to be eſteemed, for the ſoundneſs of his judgment: *Nouveaux Mémoires ſur l'Etat préſent de la Chine*, 'New Memoirs of the preſent State of China,' 3 vols, 8vo, Paris, 1697.

ſtrange

ſtrange if ſome medium between extravagant praiſe and immoderate blame could not be found, which would probably be the path of truth. We will not diſpute about the queſtion of the chronological antiquity of their empire; for as the origin of every kingdom upon Earth is enveloped in obſcurity, it may be deemed a matter of indifference by the inquirer into the hiſtory of mankind, whether this ſingular nation demanded ten or twenty centuries more or leſs for it's formation: it is ſufficient, if it formed itſelf, and we can perceive in it's ſlow progreſs the obſtacles, that prevented it's farther advance.

Now theſe obſtacles are evident to our eyes in it's character, the place of it's abode, and it's hiſtory. That the nation is of mungal origin appears from the figure of the chineſe, their groſs or infantile taſte, nay even their mechanical ingenuity, and the ſeat of their firſt cultivation. The earlieſt kings ruled in the north of China: here were laid the foundations of that ſemitatarian deſpotiſm, which being afterwards gilded over with ſplendid maxims, ſpread itſelf through various revolutions down to the coaſts of the ſea on the ſouth. A tatarian feudal conſtitution was for ages the tie, that bound the vaſſals to their lords; and the many wars between theſe vaſſals; the frequent ſubverſion of the throne by their hands; nay the whole economy of the emperor's court, and his ruling by mandarins; which are ancient eſtabliſhments, not firſt introduced by Gengis khan or the mantchous; all ſhow what kind of nation it is, and evince it's genetic character; a character, which equally meets the

eye on contemplation of the whole, and inſpection of it's parts, even to dreſs, food, cuſtoms, domeſtic economy, arts, and amuſements. This northeaſtern mungal nation could no more change it's natural form by artificial regulations, even though enduring for thouſands of years, than a man can change his nature, that is, the innate character of his race and complexion. It was planted on this ſpot of the Globe: and as the magnet has not the ſame variation in China as in Europe, ſo this race of men, in this region, could never become greeks or romans. Chineſe they were, and will remain: a people endowed by nature with ſmall eyes, a ſhort noſe, a flat forehead, little beard, large ears, and a protuberant belly: what their organization could produce, it has produced; nothing elſe could be required of it *.

All accounts agree, that the mungal nations on the north-eaſtern heights of Aſia are diſtinguiſhed by an acuteneſs of hearing, as eaſily to be accounted for among them, as it would be vain to ſeek it in other people. The language of the chineſe bears teſtimony to this delicacy of ear. The auditory organs of a mungal alone could be capable of forming a language out of three hundred and thirty ſyllables, diſtinguiſhed in different words by five or more accents, to prevent the ſpeaker from ſaying beaſt inſtead of lord, and falling into the moſt laughable confuſion of words every moment; ſo that an european ear, and european organs of ſpeech,

* See Book VI, chap. II, Vol. I, p. 245.

can

can with the utmoſt difficulty, if at all, accuſtom themſelves to this forced ſyllabical muſic. What a want of invention in the great, and what miſerable refinement in trifles, are diſplayed in contriving for this language the vaſt number of eighty thouſand compound characters from a few rude hieroglyphics, ſix or more different modes of writing which diſtinguiſh the chineſe from every other nation upon Earth. Their pictures of monſters and dragons, their minute care in the drawing of figures without regularity, the pleaſure afforded their eyes by the diſorderly aſſemblages of their gardens, the naked greatneſs or minute nicety in their buildings, the vain pomp of their dreſs, equipage, and amuſements, their lantern feaſts and fire-works, their long nails and cramped feet, their barbarous train of attendants, bowings, ceremonies, diſtinctions, and courteſies, require a mungal organization. So little taſte for true nature, ſo little feeling of internal ſatisfaction, beauty, and worth, prevail through all theſe, that a neglected mind alone could arrive at this train of political cultivation, and allow itſelf to be ſo thoroughly modelled by it. As the chineſe are immoderately fond of gilt paper and varniſh, the neatly painted lines of their intricate characters, and the jingle of fine ſentences; the caſt of their minds reſembles this varniſh and gilt paper, theſe characters and clink of ſyllables. Nature ſeems to have refuſed them, as well as many other nations in this corner of the World, great invention in ſcience: while on the other hand ſhe has bountifully conferred on their little eyes a ſpirit of application, adroit

adroit diligence and nicety, a talent of imitating with art whatever their cupidity deems uſeful. Eternally moving, eternally occupied, they are for ever going and coming, in queſt of gain, or in fulfilment of their offices, ſo that they might be taken for wandering mungals, notwithſtanding the artificial conſtitution of their ſtate: for with all their innumerable regulations, they have not yet found the art of combining occupation with reſt, ſo that every buſineſs ſhall find every man in his place. Their art of phyſic, reſembling their trade, conſiſts in a nice, deceitful feeling of the pulſe, which depicts their whole character, in it's acuteneſs of the organs of ſenſe, and uninventive ignorance of mind. The character of this people is a remarkable point in hiſtory, for it ſhows what a mungal nation, unmixed with any other, can or cannot be rendered by political cultivation carried to the higheſt pitch: for the vain pride of the chineſe ſhows, if it ſhow nothing elſe, that they have kept themſelves, like the jews, unmixed with other people. Let them have acquired particular branches of knowledge where they will, the whole ſtructure of their language and conſtitution, their inſtitutions and mode of thinking, are peculiarly their own. Juſt as they are averſe to the grafting of trees, ſo they themſelves, notwithſtanding their various intercourſe with other nations, remain an original mungal ſtock, degraded in a corner of the earth to the ſlaviſh modes of chineſe cultivation.

Man is artificially formed by education alone: the mode of education purſued by the chineſe con-

ſpired with their national character, to render them juſt what they are, and nothing more. Filial obedience, after the manner of the wandering mungals, being made the baſis of all their virtues, both civil and domeſtic; that apparent modeſty, that anticipating courteſy, which are celebrated as characteriſtic features of the chineſe even by the tongues of their enemies, could not avoid growing up in time. But good as this principle may be for a wandering horde, what would be it's conſequences in an extenſive community? In ſuch a ſtate filial obedience finding no limits; the ſame duty being impoſed on men arrived at years of maturity, having themſelves children and manly occupations, as ſuits only their uneducated offspring; nay this duty being required by every magiſtrate, who ſupports the name of father, in a figurative ſenſe alone, by force and neceſſity, not by the gentle affections of nature: what could, what muſt enſue, but that the endeavour, to form a new human heart in deſpite of nature, muſt accuſtom the real hearts of men to falſhood? If the full grown man be compelled, to yield the obedience of a child; he muſt give up all that freedom of action, which Nature has made the duty of his years; empty ceremony will ſtep into the place of heartfelt truth; and the ſon, whoſe conduct overflowed with childiſh ſubmiſſion to his mother during his father's life, will neglect her after his death, if the law but term her a concubine. It is the ſame with the filial duties toward the mandarins: they ſpring not from nature, but from authority: they are mere cuſtoms, and, when they claſh

with

with nature, they are falſe, enfeebling cuſtoms. Hence the diſagreement between the chineſe laws and morals, and the actual hiſtory of China. How often have the children of the ſtate depoſed their father from the throne! How often has the father treated his children with barbarity! Covetous mandarins have ſuffered thouſands to ſtarve: and when their crimes have reached the ears of the ſovereign father, they have been ineffectually chaſtiſed with paltry ſtripes like children. Hence the want of manly force and honour, to be obſerved even in the portraits of their great men and heroes: honour is converted into filial ſubmiſſion, force has degenerated into modiſh punctuality toward the ſtate: we find in the harneſs no noble ſteed, but a tame aſs, frequently playing the part of the fox in preſcribed cuſtoms from morning till night.

This childiſh reſtraint of the reaſon, powers, and feelings of men muſt neceſſarily have a debilitating influence on the whole frame of the ſtate. When once education is confined to modes, when forms and cuſtoms not only bind but overpower all the intercourſe of life, what a maſs of activity is loſt to the public! and that activity the nobleſt of the heart and mind. Who is not aſtoniſhed, when he remarks in the hiſtory of the chineſe the courſe and management of their affairs, and with what extenſive apparatus a trifle is accompliſhed? Here a college is employed, on what, to be well done, ſhould be performed by an individual: there inquiry is made, in what place an anſwer is to be found: they go and they come, they put off and they avoid, that

that the ceremonials of childiſh reſpect for the ſtate may not be infringed. A nation, that ſleeps on warm ſtoves, and drinks warm water from morning till night, muſt be equally deſtitute of a warlike ſpirit and profound reflection. Regularity in a beaten track; acuteneſs in diſcovering which way intereſt inclines, and a thouſand ſly arts; childiſh multiplicity of occupation, without the reflection of the man, who aſks himſelf whether a thing be neceſſary to be done, and whether it may not be performed in a better manner; are the only virtues, to which the royal path in China is open. The emperor himſelf is harneſſed to this yoke: he muſt ſet a good example to all, and go through his exerciſe like a drill corporal for a pattern to the reſt. He not only ſacrifices in the hall of his predeceſſors on feſtivals, but in every occupation, in every moment of his life, he ſacrifices to them, and all the praiſe and all the blame beſtowed upon him are perhaps equally undeſerved *.

Is it to be wondered, that a nation of this kind ſhould have invented little in the ſciences according to the european ſtandard? or that it has remained for ſome thouſands of years at the ſame point? Even it's books of law and morality continually pace round the ſame circle, and carefully and preciſely ſay the ſame things of childiſh duties, in a hundred different ways, with ſyſtematic hypo-

* Even the eſteemed emperor Kien-Long was deemed a cruel tyrant in the provinces: and in ſuch an extenſive kingdom, with ſuch a conſtitution, this muſt ever be the caſe, let the emperor's way of thinking be what it will.

criſy.

criſy. In it muſic and aſtronomy, poetry and tactics, painting and architecture, are as they were centuries ago, the children of it's eternal laws, and unalterably childiſh inſtitutions. The empire is an embalmed mummy, wrapped in ſilk, and painted with hieroglyphics: it's internal circulation is that of a dormouſe in it's winter's ſleep. Hence the ſyſtem of keeping foreigners ſeparate, acting the ſpy over them, and throwing obſtacles in their way: hence the pride of the nation, which compares itſelf with itſelf alone, and neither knows nor loves ſtrangers. It is a nation thruſt into a corner, and ſhut up from general concourſe by Fate; being ſeparated from the reſt by mountains, deſerts, and a ſea, in which ſcarce a haven is to be found. In any other ſituation it could not eaſily have remained what it is: for that it's conſtitution held out againſt the mantchous only proves, that it derived it's foundation from them, and that the leſs civilized conquerors found ſuch a ſyſtem of childiſh ſlavery a very convenient ſeat for their dominion. They durſt not alter it, but ſat themſelves down in it, and ruled: while the nation ſerved ſo obſequiouſly in every member of this machine of ſtate, which itſelf had erected, as if it had been invented for the very purpoſe of this ſlavery.

All accounts of the language of the chineſe agree, that it has contributed unſpeakably to the form of this people in their artificial mode of thinking: for is not the language of every country the medium, in which the ideas of it's inhabitants are formed, preſerved, and imparted? particularly when a nation

tion is ſo firmly attached to it's language as this, and deduces all civilization from it. The language of the chineſe is a dictionary of morals, that is, of courteſy and good manners: not only provinces and towns, but even conditions and books are diſtinguiſhed in it, ſo that the greater part of their learned induſtry is applied merely to an implement, with which nothing is performed. Every thing in it turns on ſyſtematic niceties: it expreſſes much with a few ſounds, while it depicts one ſound with many lines, and ſays one and the ſame thing in a multiplicity of books. What a waſte of induſtry is employed in pencilling and printing their works! but this is their chief art and delight; for fine writing is to them more beautiful than the moſt enchanting picture, and the uniform jingle of their maxims and compliments is prized by them as the ſum of elegance and wiſdom. Nothing but ſuch an extenſive empire, and chineſe laborioufneſs, could have produced forty books, painted in eight large volumes, on the ſingle town of Kai-fong-fu *, and extended this tireſome accuracy to every command and eulogy of the emperor. The monument of the emigration of the torguts is a monſtrous book upon ſtone †, and the whole of the learning of the chineſe is exhauſted in artificial and political hieroglyphics. The difference, with which this mode of writing alone operates upon the mind that thinks in it, muſt be incredible. It enervates the thoughts, and

* *Mém. concernant les Chinois*, Vol. II, p. 375.

† Ib. Vol. I, p. 329.

reduces

reduces the whole national way of thinking to painted or air-drawn arbitrary characters.

This exhibition of the peculiarities of the chineſe has not been coloured by enmity or contempt: every line is taken from their warmeſt advocates, and might be ſupported by a hundred proofs from every claſs of their inſtitutions. It is nothing more, than ariſes from the nature of the caſe; the repreſentation of a people formed from remote antiquity with ſuch an organization, in ſuch a part of the World, after ſuch principles, with ſuch aids, and under ſuch circumſtances; and which, contrary to the uſual courſe of things in other nations, has ſo long retained it's way of thinking. If the ancient egyptians were ſtill before our eyes, we ſhould obſerve, without venturing to think of a reciprocal derivation, a reſemblance between them in many points; the traditions received being only modified ſomewhat differently by the climate. It was the ſame with other nations, that once ſtood on the ſame ſtep of cultivation; but theſe have advanced farther, or have been deſtroyed and mingled with others; while ancient China ſtands as an old ruin on the verge of the World, in it's ſemi-mungalian form. It would be difficult to prove, that the fundamental lineaments of it's cultivation were brought from Greece through Bactra, or derived from Tatary through Balch: the web of it's conſtitution is certainly endemial, and the ſlight operations of foreign countries on it are eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed and ſeparated. I honour the Kings like a chineſe for their excellent principles: and Confucius is to

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me a great man, though I perceive the fetters, which he too wore, and which, with the beſt intentions, he rivetted eternally on the ſuperſtitious populace, and the general ſyſtem of ſtate, by his political morality. By means of it this nation, like many others on the Globe, has ſtood ſtill in it's education, as in the age of infancy; this mechanical engine of morals for ever checking the progreſs of the mind, and no ſecond Confucius ariſing in the deſpotic realm. Had either the enormous ſtate been once divided; or had more enlightened Kien-longs taken the paternal reſolution, to ſend forth as coloniſts thoſe whom they could not feed, lightened the yoke of cuſtom, and introduced greater freedom of will and action, though this would undoubtedly have been attended with much danger: then—but even then the chineſe would ever have remained chineſe, as germans are ſtill germans, and no ancient greeks are produced in the eaſtern end of Aſia. It is obviouſly the purpoſe of Nature, that every thing capable of proſpering on Earth ſhould proſper on it, and that even this variety in her productions ſhould teem with the creator's praiſe. The work of legiſlation and morals poſſeſſes no where upon Earth ſuch ſtability as in China, where the human underſtanding appears to have framed it as an infantile eſſay: there let it remain, and may Europe never rear a ſiſter realm equally full of filial ſubmiſſion to it's deſpots. This nation will retain to the end the fame of it's induſtry, of the acuteneſs of it's organs of ſenſe, of it's ſkilful dexterity in a thouſand uſeful things. Silk and porcelain, powder and ſhot,

perhaps too the mariner's compaſs, the art of printing, the building of bridges, navigation, and many other nice mechanical occupations and arts, were known to it, before they exiſted in Europe: but in almoſt all arts it wants the ſpirit of improvement. For the reſt, that China ſhould ſhut herſelf up from the nations of Europe, and lay great reſtraints as well on the dutch as on the ruſſians and jeſuits, is not only conſiſtent with her general way of thinking, but cannot be blamed on the ſcore of policy, ſo long as ſhe obſerves the conduct of europeans in the iſlands and on the continent of the Eaſt-Indies, in the North of Aſia, and in her own land. Swelling with tatarian pride, ſhe deſpiſes the merchant who leaves his own country, and barters what ſhe deems the moſt ſolid merchandize for things of trifling value: ſhe takes his ſilver, and gives him in return millions of pounds of enervating tea, to the corruption of all Europe.

CHAPTER II.

Cochin-China, Tonquin, Laos, Corea, eaſtern Tatary, Japan.

It appears inconteſtibly from the hiſtory of mankind, that, whatever country has been capable of raiſing itſelf to any eminent degree of cultivation, it has influenced a certain circle of it's neighbours. Thus China, though an unwarlike nation, and with a conſtitution ſtrongly concentring in itſelf, has notwithſtanding diffuſed it's influence through many countries

countries round. The queſtion is not, whether theſe countries have been ſubdued by China, or remain ſubject to it; if they participate in it's inſtitutions, language, religion, ſciences, arts, and manners, as far as regards mind they are provinces of the empire.

Cochin-China has derived moſt from the chineſe, of whom it has been in ſome meaſure a political colony: hence the reſemblance between the two people in conſtitution and manners, in arts and ſciences, in religion, trade, and government. It's emperor is a vaſſal of China, and the nations are intimately united by commerce. If this buſy, ſenſible, gentle people, be compared with their neighbours, the indolent ſiameſe, the ſavage natives of Arracan, &c., the difference will be obvious. But as no rivulet riſes higher than it's ſource, it is not to be expected, that Cochin-China ſhould exceed it's original: it's government is more deſpotic; it's religion and ſciences are but echoes of thoſe of the mother country.

Tonquin, which lies ſtill nearer to China, though ſeparated from it by rude mountains, is in a ſimilar predicament. The nation is leſs civilized: the degree of cultivation it poſſeſſes, and which ſupports the ſtate; it's manufactures, trade, laws, religion, knowledge, and cuſtoms; are all chineſe; only far inferiour, in conſequence of a more ſoutherly climate, and the national character.

The impreſſion made by China upon Laos is ſtill more feeble: for this country was ſoon torn from it,

and adopted the manners of the ſiameſe: yet the traces of that impreſſion are ſtill perceptible.

Among the ſouthern iſlands Java is that, with which the chineſe have the moſt particular intercourſe: indeed it is probable, that colonies have been planted in it by them. Their political eſtabliſhments, however, they could not introduce into this diſtant and much hotter land: for the laborious ſkill of the chineſe requires an aſſiduous people, and a temperate climate. They made uſe of the iſland, therefore, without faſhioning it.

To the north the chineſe ſyſtem of things has gained more footing, and the people of China may boaſt, that they have contributed more to ſoften the rude nations of this vaſt region, than the europeans probably in all the four quarters of the Globe. Korea has been actually ſubjected to the chineſe by the mantchous: and let this once ſavage nation be compared with it's northern neighbours. The inhabitants of this partly cold country are gentle and benign: in their amuſements and funeral ceremonies, in their houſes and clothing, in their religion and a certain love of ſcience, they at leaſt imitate the chineſe, by whom their government was framed, and a few manufactures eſtabliſhed. On the mungals the influence of the chineſe has had a ſtill more extenſive operation. Not only have the mantchous, who conquered China, been poliſhed by their intercourſe with it, ſo that tribunals reſembling thoſe of Pekin have been eſtabliſhed at Schinyang, their capital: but the numerous mungal hordes, the greater part of which are ſubject to

China, have not remained uninfluenced by the chineſe, notwithſtanding their ruder manners. Nay if the friendly protection of this kingdom, in which the torguts amounted in modern times to three hundred thouſand ſtrong, be a benefit, China has treated this extenſive region more juſtly than any conqueror. Often has it quieted the diſturbances of Tibet, and in former days extended it's hand to the Caſpian ſea. The contents of the rich graves found in different parts of Mungalia and Tatary afford evident marks of an intercourſe with China: and if more poliſhed nations formerly inhabited theſe countries, they probably were not without a cloſe connexion with the chineſe.

The place, however, in which the chineſe have raiſed up the greateſt rivals of their induſtry, is Japan. The japaneſe were once barbarians; and certainly, from their bold and violent character, cruel and rigid barbarians: yet from their proximity and intercourſe with a people, from whom they learned writing and ſciences, arts and manufactures, they have improved themſelves to a ſtate, which in many points rivals or even exceeds that of China. Conformably to the character of the nation indeed, both their government and religion are more barbarous and ſevere; and there is no more proſpect in Japan, than in China, of an advancement to greater perfection in the ſciences, as they are cultivated in Europe: but if a knowledge and employment of the ſoil, if induſtry in agriculture and the uſeful arts, if trade and navigation, and even the rude pomp and deſpotic form of their political con-

ſtitution, be unqueſtionable ſteps of cultivation, the proud japaneſe have borrowed them from China. The annals of this nation record the time, when the japaneſe viſited China as barbarians: and with whatever peculiarities the rude iſlanders have formed themſelves, in all the inſtruments of their cultivation, and in the manner in which they exerciſe their arts, the chineſe original is evident.

Now whether theſe people have penetrated ſtill farther, and contributed to the cultivation of either of the two poliſhed kingdoms of America, both of which were ſituate on the weſtern coaſt, oppoſite to China, will not be eaſy to determine. If a cultivated people from this ſide of the Globe reached America, it could ſcarcely be any other than the chineſe, or the iſlanders of Japan. It is much to be regretted, that the hiſtory of China, in obedience to the conſtitution of the country, is written ſo completely in the chineſe manner. All inventions it aſcribes to it's kings: it forgets the world beyond it's own limits, and as a hiſtory of the empire it is far from an inſtructive hiſtory of man.

CHAPTER III.

Tibet.

BETWEEN the great mountains and deſerts of Aſia, a ſpiritual empire, ſingular in kind, erects it's head. This is the grand ſovereignty of the lamas. It is true, the temporal power has been occaſionally ſeparated from the ſpiritual by ſlight revolutions;

revolutions; but they have always been united again after a time, ſo that in this country the whole conſtitution reſts on the imperial pontificate, in a manner elſewhere unknown. According to the doctrine of metempſychoſis, the grand lama is animated by the god Shaka, or Fo, who, at the deceaſe of one lama, tranſmigrates into the next, and conſecrates him an image of the divinity. The deſcending chain of lamas is continued down from him in fixed degrees of ſanctity, ſo that a more firmly eſtabliſhed ſacerdotal government, in doctrines, cuſtoms, and inſtitutions, than actually reigns over this elevated country, cannot be conceived. The ſupreme manager of temporal affairs is no more than the viceroy of the ſovereign prieſt, who, conformably to the principles of his religion, dwells in divine tranquillity, in a building that is both temple and palace. The lama account of the creation of the World abounds with monſtrous fables: the threatened puniſhments and penitences for ſin are ſevere: and the ſtate, after which their ſanctity ſtrives, is highly unnatural, conſiſting in monaſtic continence, ſuperſtitious abſence of thought, and the perfect repoſe of nonentity. Yet there is ſcarcely any religion upon Earth ſo widely ſpread as this. Not only in Tibet and Tangut, and by the greater part of the mungals, mantchous, kalcas, eleuths, is the lama worſhipped; and if ſome of them have diſpenſed with the adoration of his perſon in modern times, ſtill a certain modification of the religion of Shaka is the only faith they profeſs, the only worſhip they follow: but this religion extends far to

the ſouth alſo: the names of Sommonacodom, Shakja-Tuba, Sangol-Muni, Shigemuni, Buddo, Fo, Shekia, are all the ſame with Shaka; ſo that this ſacred monaſtic doctrine pervades Hindoſtan, Ceylon, Siam, Pegu, Tonquin, and even China, Corea, and Japan; though not every where retaining in equal degrees the cumberſome mythology of the tibetians. Even in China the doctrines of Fo conſtitute the popular faith; while the principles of Confucius and Lao-tſe are only ſpecies of a political religion and philoſophy adopted by the higher ranks, that is, by the learned. The government is indifferent to either religion: it's care proceeds no farther, than to render the lamas and bonzes innocuous to the ſtate, by preſerving it from the ſovereignty of the dalai-lama. Japan has long been a Semi-Tibet: the dairi was the ſpiritual ſovereign, and the cubo his temporal ſervant; till the latter took the reins into his own hand, and reduced the former to a mere cipher: a ſtep that ariſes in the courſe of things, and will ſome time be the lot of the lama alſo. It is only owing to the ſituation of his empire, the barbarouſneſs of the mungal tribes, and more eſpecially the favour of the emperor of China, that the lama has remained ſo long what he is.

The religion of the lamas aſſuredly never originated on the cold mountains of Tibet: it muſt have been the offspring of a warmer climate, the creature of ſome enervate minds, that love above all things to indulge in bodily reſt, and freedom from thought. It did not reach the rude heights of Tibet,

bet, or even China itſelf, till the firſt century after the chriſtian era; and then it received in each a different modification, according to the ſtate of the country. In Tibet and Japan it was rigid and ſevere: among the mungals it became a leſs efficacious ſuperſtition: while Siam, Hindoſtan, and ſimilar countries, cheriſhed it under it's mildeſt aſpect, as a natural production of their warmer climate. From this difference of form, it has had very different effects on the countries, in which it has flouriſhed. In Siam, Hindoſtan, Tonquin, and ſome others, it lulls the minds of men, and renders them compaſſionate and unwarlike, patient, gentle, and indolent. The talapoins aſpire not to the throne: they only require alms for the abſolution of ſinners. In ruder ſoils, where the climate does not ſo eaſily afford ſupport for idle beadſmen, their eſtabliſhment demands more art, and thus they at length unite the palace and the temple. The inconſiſtencies, which not only connect but ſupport human affairs, are ſingular. If every tibetian obeyed the laws of the lamas, and ſtrove to imitate their ſupreme virtues, Tibet would ſoon be no more. A race of men, keeping themſelves unconnected with each other, not cultivating their frigid ſoil, purſuing neither trade nor manufactures, muſt haſten to an end: while dreaming of Heaven they would periſh with cold and hunger. But happily nature is more powerful in man, than any opinion he may embrace. The tibetian marries, though marriage is a ſin: and his induſtrious wife, who indeed takes more than one huſband, and labours more than a man,

man, willingly foregoes the chief places in Paradiſe, to continue the preſent World. If there be a religion upon Earth, that deſerves the epithets of monſtrous and inconſiſtent, it is the religion of Tibet *: and it cannot altogether be denied, that, if chriſtianity were propagated in it's moſt rigid doctrines and practices, it would no where appear in a worſe form than on the tibetian mountains. Fortunately, however, the ſevere monaſtic religion has been as incapable of changing the ſpirit of the nation, as of altering it's wants and climate. The inhabitant of the lofty mountains purchaſes abſolution for his ſins, and enjoys health and cheerfulneſs: he feeds and kills animals, though he believes the tranſmigration of ſouls; and keeps a wedding feaſt for a fortnight, though his prieſt inculcates celibacy as the only ſtate of perfection. Thus the opinions of mankind have always accommodated matters with their wants: they have haggled with each other, till a tolerable bargain was ſtruck between them. How unfortunate would it be for men, if every folly, that prevails in the creeds received by nations, were to be completely followed up in practice! But now, moſt are believed and not practiſed, and this neutral ſentiment of dead perſuaſion is every where called faith. It is not to be ſupppoſed, that the calmuc lives conformably to the pattern of perfection in

* See *Georgii Alphabet. Tibetan.*, Rome, 1762, a book abounding with learned lumber; yet, with the accounts in Pallas's *Nordiſchen Beitrægen*, Vol. IV, p. 271, &c., and the eſſay in Schlœzer's *Briefwechſel*, 'Correſpondence,' Vol. V, the chief book we have reſpecting Tibet.

Tibet,

Tibet, becauſe he adores a little idol, or worſhips the excrement of the lama.

But this diſguſting ſyſtem of the lamas has not been barely innocent: it has certainly had it's uſe. By it a groſs heathen nation, holding itſelf deſcended from apes, has been raiſed into a poliſhed, and in many points a refined people: though to this the neighbourhood of China greatly contributed. A religion originating in India muſt have a predilection for cleanlineſs: thus the tibetians were prevented from living like tatarian mountaineers. Even that extravagant chaſtity, which their lamas preach, has ſerved as a goal of virtue to the nation; and the modeſty, temperance, and reſerve, remarked in both ſexes, may be conſidered as at leaſt part of the race toward it: where too, indeed, half is better than the whole. The doctrine of the metempſychoſis excites compaſſion toward animals: and perhaps the rude inhabitants of rocks and mountains could not be held by a gentler rein than this opinion, and the belief in long penitences and the pains of Hell. In ſhort the tibetian religion is a ſpecies of the papal, ſuch as it prevailed in Europe itſelf in the dark ages, and indeed without that morality and decorum, for which the mungals and tibetians are commended. The religion of Shaka has been of ſervice to mankind likewiſe by introducing a ſort of learning, and a written language, among theſe mountaineers, and even farther, among the mungals. Probably the preparatory means of a degree of cultivation, now ripening for theſe regions alſo.

The

The way of Providence among nations is wondrous long, yet it is the pure order of nature. Gymnoſophiſts and talapoins, that is, contemplative ſolitaries, have exiſted in the eaſt from the remoteſt times: their nature and their climate led them to this mode of life. Seeking quiet, they fled from thebuſtle of ſociety, and lived contented with the little, that fertile nature gave. The oriental is as ſerious, and moderate in words, as temperate in meat and drink. He willingly reſigns himſelf to the wings of imagination: and whither could theſe carry him, but to the contemplation of univerſal nature, to the origin of the World, the decay and renovation of things? Both the coſmogony and the metempſychoſis of the orientals are poetical repreſentations of what is and will be, ſuch as they may be conceived by a limited human underſtanding and a feeling heart. 'I live and enjoy my life a little while: why ſhould not all around me enjoy their exiſtence, and live uninjured by me?' Hence the morality of the talapoins, which ſo effectively and ſelf-denyingly inculcates the nothingneſs of all things, the eternal mutation of forms in the World, the internal affliction of the inſatiate deſires of the human heart, and the pleaſures of a pure mind. Hence too the gentle humane ordinances, which they gave to mankind for ſparing themſelves and other beings, and the praiſes of which they chaunt in their hymns, and record in their maxims. Theſe they no more derived from Greece, than they did their coſmogony: for both are the genuine offſpring of the feelings and ſentiments of their climate.

mate. In them every thing is ſtrained to the higheſt pitch; ſo that indian hermits alone can live conformably to the doctrines of the talapoins: and beſides, every thing is ſo enveloped in endleſs fables, that if ever a Shaka lived, he would ſcarcely recognize himſelf in one of the features aſcribed to him as ſubjects of gratitude or praiſe. Yet does not a child learn his firſt wiſdom and morals by means of fables? and are not moſt of theſe nations, whoſe minds remain in a gentle ſlumber, children all their lives long? Let us not accuſe Providence, therefore, for what could not be otherwiſe, according to the order ſhe choſe for the human race. She knit every thing with tradition, and thus men could not impart to each other more, than they themſelves had, and knew. Every thing in nature, and conſequently the philoſophy of Budda, is good or bad, according to the uſe that is made of it. On the one hand it exhibits as fine and lofty ſentiments, as on the other it is capable of exciting and foſtering, which it abundantly has, indolence and deceit. In no two countries has it remained preciſely the ſame: but wherever it exiſts, it has raiſed itſelf at leaſt one ſtep above groſs heatheniſm, the firſt twilight of a purer morality, the firſt infantile dream of that truth, which comprehends the univerſe.

CHAPTER IV.

Hindoſtan.

THOUGH the doctrine of the bramins is no more than a branch of that widely ſpread religion, which has formed ſects or ſovereignties from Tibet to Japan; ſtill it deſerves particular conſideration in the place of it's birth, as it has formed there the moſt ſingular and perhaps durable government in the World; this is the diviſion of the hindoo nation into four or more caſts, over which the bramins rule as forming the firſt. That they obtained this ſway by bodily ſubjugation is by no means probable: for they are not the military caſt of the people, which, the king himſelf included, comes only next to them; and their pretenſions are founded on no ſuch claim, even in their fables. Their dominion over the reſt is derived from their origin, on the ſcore of which they pride themſelves as ſprung from the head of Brama, while the ſoldiery proceeded from his breaſt, and the other caſts from his different limbs. On this their laws and the conſtitution of the ſtate are founded, according to which they make a particular caſt, which is to the nation what the head is to the body. Similar diviſions into caſts have formed in other regions the ſimpleſt eſtabliſhment of ſociety: in imitation of nature, that divides trees into branches, people into tribes and families. Such was the ſyſtem of Egypt; which, like that of Hindoſtan, made arts and trades hereditary:

reditary: and that the caſt of ſages and prieſts aſſigned to itſelf the higheſt place, we obſerve in ſeveral nations. In ſuch a degree of cultivation, this appears to me the natural courſe of things; as wiſdom is ſuperiour to ſtrength, and in ancient times the caſt of prieſts appropriated to itſelf almoſt all political ſcience. The importance of the prieſthood declines only with the general diffuſion of knowledge through all ranks; and for this reaſon the prieſts have ſo frequently oppoſed the enlightening of the people.

The hiſtory of Hindoſtan, of which we know much leſs than could be wiſhed, affords us ſome clear hints reſpecting the origin of the bramins*. This makes Brama, a wiſe and learned man, who invented ſeveral arts and in particular writing, a vizir of one of their ancient kings, Criſhen, whoſe ſon divided the people by law into the four well known caſts. He placed the ſon of Brama at the head of the firſt caſt, which included the aſtrologers, phyſicians, and prieſts: other nobles were appointed hereditary governors of provinces, and from theſe the ſecond caſt of the hindoos is deſcended: the third caſt was confined to the cultivation of the ground; the fourth, to the purſuit of arts: and this eſtabliſhment was to continue for ever. He built the town of Bahar for the philoſophers; and as the ſeat of his empire, and the ſchools of the bramins, were chiefly on the banks of the Ganges, the reaſon why ſo little is ſaid of them by the greeks and romans

* Dow's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, Vol. I, p. 10, 11.

mans is obvious: for it appears, that theſe were unacquainted with the interiour parts of India; Herodotus deſcribing only the people on the Hindus, and the northern part of the peninſula beyond the Ganges, and Alexander having advanced no farther than the Hyphaſes. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that at firſt they obtained only general accounts of the bramins, that is, of the ſolitary philoſophers, living in the manner of the talapoins; and afterwards heard obſcure tales of the ſamaneans and germans on the Ganges, of the diviſion of the people into caſts, of their doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls, &c. Even theſe mutilated relations however ſhow, that the inſtitution of the bramins is ancient, and a native of the country bordering on the Ganges; which the very old monuments at Jaggernaut *, Bombay, and other parts of the peninſula, confirm. Both the idols, and the whole economy of their temples, are ſuitable to the ſentiments and mythology of the bramins, who have ſpread themſelves abroad through India from their ſacred Ganges, and been honoured, in proportion to the ignorance of the people, where they have arrived. The Ganges, as their birth place, has remained the chief ſeat of their holy rites: though as bramins they are not merely a religious, but a truly political tribe, reſembling the orders of lamas, levites, egyptian prieſts, &c., and have pertained to the primitive conſtitution of the ſtate throughout India.

* Zend-Aveſta, by D'Anquetil, Vol. I, p. 81, and foll^a. Niebuhr's Travels, Vol. II.

For

For thouſands of years this influence of the order on the minds of men has been ſingularly profound: for, in ſpite of the mungal yoke, which they have ſo long born, it's importance and doctrines ſtill remain unſhaken, and theſe exert ſuch a powerful ſway over the hindoos, as ſcarcely any other religion has ever diſplayed *. The character, way of life, and manners of the people, even to the minuteſt trifles, nay to their very thoughts and words, are their work: and though many parts of the religion of the bramins are extremely troubleſome and oppreſſive, they remain as ſacred as the divine laws of nature, even to the loweſt caſts. Such of them as embrace a foreign religion are for the moſt part only malefactors and outcaſts, or poor deſerted children. The ſenſe of ſuperiority, too, with which the hindoo, even under the preſſure of extreme want, contemplates the european whom he ſerves, is a ſufficient guaranty, that this people, while it exiſts, will never mix with any other. No doubt the character of the nation and the climate are the grounds of this unparalleled effect: for no people are endowed with more quiet patience, and gentle docility of mind. But that the hindoo does not follow the precepts and cuſtoms of every foreigner ariſes evidently from this, that the inſtitution of the bramins already ſo occupies his whole mind, and employs his whole life, as to leave no room for any

* See on this ſubject Dow, Holwell, Sonnerat, Alexander Roſs, Mackintoſh, the accounts of the miſſionaries of Halle, the *Lettres édifiantes*, and every other deſcription of the hindoo religion and people.

other. His frequent feſtivals and ceremonies, his multiplicity of deities and fables, his numerous ſacred places and works of merit, employ the whole imagination of the hindoo from his infancy, and remind him of what he is almoſt every moment of his life. All the inſtitutions of Europe float only on the ſurface of a mind thus profoundly ſwayed; and this ſway I believe capable of continuing, as long as a hindoo ſhall exiſt.

With reſpect to all human inſtitutions, the queſtion, whether they be good or evil, is neceſſarily complicated. Undoubtedly the ſyſtem of the bramins, when it was firſt eſtabliſhed, was good: otherwiſe it could not have ſpread ſo wide, penetrated ſo deep, and endured ſo long. The human mind ſhakes off what is pernicious to it, as ſoon as it can: and though the hindoo may be capable of bearing more than another, he certainly would never love poiſon. It is inconteſtible too, that the bramins have formed their people to ſuch a degree of gentleneſs, courteſy, temperance, and chaſtity, or at leaſt have ſo confirmed them in theſe virtues, that europeans frequently appear, on compariſon with them, as beaſtly, drunken, or mad. In their air and language they are unconſtrainedly elegant; in behaviour, friendly; in their perſons, clean; in their way of life, ſimple and harmleſs. Their children are educated without ſeverity; yet they are not deſtitute of knowledge, and ſtill leſs of quiet induſtry, or nicely imitative art: even the loweſt caſts learn reading, writing, and arithmetic. As the teachers of youth, the bramins cannot be denied the merit of having

ing been benefactors to mankind for ſome thouſands of years. Let the reader turn to the relations given by the miſſionaries of Halle, and mark the ſound reaſoning and benign diſpoſition of the bramins and malabars, in their queſtions, anſwers, and objections, as well as in their whole behaviour, and he will ſeldom give the palm to the preachers from Europe. The leading idea the bramins entertain of God is ſo grand and beautiful, their morality is ſo pure and ſublime, and even their fables, when ſcanned by the eye of reaſon, are ſo refined and charming, that I cannot altogether aſcribe to their inventors, even in the monſtrous and romantic, that abſurdity, which it is probable they gained in the courſe of time by paſſing through the mouths of the people. That, in ſpite of all the oppreſſion of the mohammedans and chriſtians, the order of bramins has preſerved it's artfully conſtructed and beautiful language *, and with it ſome of the ruins of ancient aſtronomy and chronology, phyſic and juriſprudence, is not without merit in ſuch a ſituation †: for the mechanical manner in which they exerciſe theſe ſciences is ſufficient for their ſphere of life, and what is unfriendly to their improvement confirms their durability and effect. With regard to others, the hindoos perſecute no one: they allow all to follow their own religion, knowledge, and way

* See Halhed's Grammar of the Bengal Language, printed at Hoogly in Bengal, 1778.

† See Le Gentil's *Voyage dans les Mers de l'Inde*, 'Voyage in the Indian Ocean,' Vol. I; Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws; &c.

of life: why ſhould not others allow them the ſame liberty, and conſider them at leaſt as well-meaning people, though miſled by the errours of their hereditary traditions? Of all the ſects of Fo, which occupy the eaſtern world of Aſia, this is the flower: more learned, more humane, more uſeful, more noble, than all the bonzes, lamas, and talapoins.

With this it muſt not be concealed, that, as in all other human inſtitutions, ſo in this, there is much that is oppreſſive. Not to mention the endleſs violence, which the confinement of the different ways of life to hereditary caſts neceſſarily involves, as it nearly excludes all freedom in improving the arts, and bringing them to perfection: the contempt with which the lower caſt, the pariars, are treated, is particularly ſtriking. They are not only condemned to the baſeſt offices, and eternally prohibited from all connexion with any other of the caſts; but they are even deprived of the claims of humanity, and the rites of religion: for no one dares touch a pariar, and his very look profanes a bramin. Though many reaſons are aſſigned for this abaſement, and among others, that the pariars may be a ſubjugated nation; none of them are ſufficiently confirmed by hiſtory. In perſon, at leaſt, they differ not from the other hindoos. Here, as in ſo many other things of ancient inſtitution, we muſt recur to the rigid primitive ordinance, according to which, probably, the very poor, or malefactors and reprobates, were condemned to a ſtate of debaſement, to which their innocent and numerous deſcendants have aſtoniſhingly ſubmitted. The fault lies ſolely in the claſſi-

fication by families; according to which the loweſt lot of life muſt fall to ſome, and the purity arrogated by the reſt ſtill augments the burden. Now what could be more natural, than to conſider it at length as a puniſhment from Heaven, to be born a pariar, and, conformably to the doctrine of the metempſychoſis, as a fate merited by crimes in a former ſtate of life? This hypotheſis of the tranſmigration of ſouls, grand as it was in the mind of him, by whom it was firſt imagined, and greatly as it may have benefitted mankind, muſt neceſſarily have occaſioned much evil alſo, as does every opinion, that overſteps human nature. While, for inſtance, it excited a falſe compaſſion towards every living creature, it diminiſhed real ſympathy for the miſeries of our fellows; the unhappy among whom it held as criminals ſuffering under the burden of former miſdeeds, or as men proved by the hand of Fate, who would reward their virtues in a future ſtate of exiſtence. Accordingly, a want of ſympathy is obſerved even in the gentle hindoos, which may probably be conſidered as an effect of their organization, though ſtill more of their profound ſubmiſſion to eternal fate; a faith, which plunges man into an abyſs, and blunts his active feelings. The burning of wives on the funeral piles of their huſbands may be reckoned among the barbarous conſequences of this doctrine: for to whatever cauſe it owes it's firſt introduction, whether it entered the round of cuſtom as a puniſhment, or as an emulation of ſome great minds, the braminical doctrine of a future ſtate has unqueſtionably ennobled the

unnatural practice, and animated the poor victim to encounter death. No doubt this cruel practice renders the life of the husband more dear to the wife, as she thus becomes inseparable from him even in death, and cannot remain behind him without disgrace: but is this worth the sacrifice, when tacit custom alone gives it the force of law? Lastly, I pass over the manifold deception and superstition inevitable in the braminical system, from the very circumstance of astronomy and chronology, religion and physic, being propagated by oral tradition, and confined as mysteries to one cast: a still more pernicious consequence for the whole country was, that this supremacy of the bramins must render the people sooner or later ripe for subjugation. The military cast must speedily become unwarlike, as it's functions clashed with it's religion, and it was subordinate to another, which abhorred all shedding of blood. Happy would it have been for such a peaceful people, to have dwelt on a solitary island, remote from all conquerors: but at the foot of mountains inhabited by those human beasts of prey, the warlike mungals; and near those coasts abounding with havens, to receive the artful and covetous adventurers of Europe; how could the poor hindoos maintain themselves, and their pacific system? Thus it was with the constitution of Hindostan: it sank under internal and external wars, till at length the maritime power of Europe subjected it to a yoke, under which it is uttering it's last groans.

Hard course of the fate of nations! yet it is nothing more than the order of nature. In the most beautiful

beautiful and fertile region of the Earth, man muſt early attain refined ideas, an imagination widely expatiating on nature, gentle manners, and regular inſtitutions: but in this region he muſt ſoon avoid laborious activity, and thus become the prey of every robber, who viſited his happy land. From remote times the trade to the Eaſt Indies was a very lucrative branch of commerce: the induſtrious contented people gave of their treaſures by ſea and land to other nations an abundance of precious articles; and, in conſequence of their remote ſituation, remained in tolerable peace and tranquillity: till at length europeans, from whom nothing is remote, came, and eſtabliſhed empires of their own among them. All the information, and all the merchandize, that they have brought us thence, by no means compenſate the evil they have done to a nation, by whom they were never offended. Yet in this the hand of Fate prevails, and it will either looſe the chain, or extend it's links.

CHAPTER V.

General Reflections on the Hiſtory of theſe States.

HITHERTO we have been conſidering thoſe political conſtitutions of Aſia, which boaſt the higheſt antiquity, and the firmeſt duration: now what have they effected in the hiſtory of mankind? what is learned from them by the philoſopher of human hiſtory?

Hiſtory preſumes a beginning: to the hiſtory of a ſtate, and of moral cultivation, a commencement

of theſe is neceſſary. But how obſcure is this commencement, among all the nations we have yet contemplated! Were my voice of any weight, I would employ it in exhorting every ſagacious and diſcreet inveſtigator of hiſtory, to ſtudy the origin of cultivation in Aſia, among it's moſt celebrated nations and empires, laying aſide all hypotheſis, and throwing off the ſhackles of preconceived opinion. An accurate examination of the accounts and monuments we have of theſe nations, of their writing and languages, of their moſt ancient works of art and mythology, or the principles and practices they ſtill follow in their few ſciences; compared with the place they inhabit, and the intercourſe they may have had; would certainly diſentangle part of the chain of their cultivation, the firſt link of which would probably be found neither in Selinginſkoy, nor in grecian Bactra. The diligent inquiries of a Deguignes, a Bayer, a Gatterer, and ſome others; the bolder hypotheſes of Bailly, Paw, Deliſle, &c.; and the uſeful endeavours, that have been made toward collecting and rendering public the languages and works of Aſia; are preparatory ſteps to the erection of an edifice, the firſt foundation ſtone of which I ſhould be glad to ſee laid. Probably we ſhould thus diſcover the ruins of a temple of that *Protogea**, which diſplays itſelf to our view in ſo many natural monuments.

2. The civilization of a people is a term not eaſy to expreſs; but to conceive the idea, and carry it

* Primitive World. T.

into

into practice, is still more difficult. That a stranger arriving in a country should enlighten a whole nation, or that a king should enjoin the civilization of a people by law, can be possible only from a coincidence of various auxiliary circumstances: for men are formed only by education, instruction, and permanent example. Hence it was, that all nations soon fell upon the method of admitting into the body politic a class of men appointed to instruct, educate, and enlighten the rest; setting them above the other classes, or assigning them a middle rank. Admit this to be the threshold of a very imperfect degree of cultivation, still it is necessary in the childhood of the human race; for wherever such teachers of the people have been wanting, these have remained eternally ignorant and slothful. Consequently some sort of bramins, mandarins, talapoins, lamas, or the like, have been necessary to every nation in it's political infancy: and indeed we see, that this order of men alone has extensively diffused the seeds of artificial cultivation throughout Asia. If there be such, the emperor Yao may say to his servants Hi and Ho *: 'go observe the stars, mark the course of the Sun, and portion out the year.' If Hi and Ho be no astronomers, his imperial command is of no effect.

3. There is a difference between the cultivation of men of learning, and the cultivation of the people. The learned man must understand the sciences,

* Beginning of the Shoo-King, p. 6, in the edition of Deguignes.

the

part of the World, has attained an ideal form, which the man of learning only penetrates, and the ſtateſman employs. Once entered on this courſe we cannot ſtand ſtill: we purſue the magic image of perfect ſcience and univerſal knowledge, which it is true we ſhall never overtake, but which will hold us in chaſe, as long as the conſtitutions of Europe ſhall endure. It is not ſo with the kingdoms, that have never engaged in this conteſt. Orbicular China, behind it's mountains, is a ſimple encloſed realm: all it's provinces, however different their people, ſettled on the principles of an ancient conſtitution, are not in a ſtate of rivalry together, but of the profoundeſt obedience. Japan is an iſland, an enemy to every ſtranger, like ancient Britain, and ſtands like a world of itſelf, amid it's rude rocks and ſtormy ſea. It is the ſame with Tibet, ſurrounded by mountains, and ſavage nations: the ſame with the conſtitution of the bramins, which has groaned for centuries beneath the yoke. How could the germes of progreſſive ſcience, which burſt even through the rocks of Europe, ſprout forth in theſe realms? How could theſe people receive even the fruits of the tree from the dangerous hands of europeans, who have robbed them of what was their own, political ſecurity, and their very land itſelf? Thus, after a few eſſays, each ſnail has retreated within it's ſhell, and rejected even the moſt fragrant roſe brought in the mouth of a ſerpent. The ſcience of their pretended men of learning is adapted to the country; and China received from the officious jeſuits no more than it deemed abſolutely neceſſary. Probably it would

would have accepted more, had it arrived in a time of neceſſity: but as moſt men, and ſtill more great political bodies, are rigid, iron animals, to whom danger muſt approach very near, before they alter their old courſe; ſo, without ſigns and wonders, every thing will remain as it is, though the nation may be by no means deficient in capacity for ſcience. It wants nothing but prime movers; inveterate cuſtom reſiſting every new impulſe. How ſlow was Europe herſelf in learning her beſt arts!

5. The ſtate of a kingdom may be eſtimated either in itſelf, or in compariſon with others: Europe muſt employ both ſtandards; the aſiatic empires have only the former. No one of theſe has ſought other worlds, to employ them as the pedeſtals of it's grandeur, or poiſon itſelf with their ſuperfluities; every one makes uſe of what it has, and is ſatisfied with it's own. China has even refrained from working her own mines of gold; not venturing to uſe them, from a conſciouſneſs of her weakneſs; and the foreign trade of China is carried on wholly without the ſubjugation of other countries. From this prudent wiſdom all theſe lands have derived the unqueſtionable benefit of being obliged, to make the moſt uſe of what they have within themſelves, as they obtain fewer ſupplies from external commerce. We europeans, on the contrary, wander over the whole World as merchants, or as robbers; and frequently neglect on this account our own homes: Britain itſelf is far from diſplaying ſuch agricultural induſtry as is exhibited in the chineſe territories, or in the iſland of Japan. Our bodies politic

litic are animals inſatiably devouring every thing that is foreign, good and bad, food and poiſon, coffee and tea, ſilver and gold; and, in a ſtate of high fever, diſplay much ſupernatural energy. Theirs reckon only on their internal circulation, thus living ſlowly like the marmot, whence they have endured, and ſtill may endure long, if external circumſtances do not deſtroy the ſleeping animal. Now it is well known, that in every thing the ancients calculated on a longer duration, as well in their political ſyſtems, as in their monuments: we act with vivacity, and ſo much the more ſpeedily run through the ſhorter period allotted us by fate.

6, Laſtly, every thing earthly and human is governed by time and place, as every particular nation is by it's character, uninfluenced by which it can do nothing. Had the eaſt of Aſia joined Europe, it would long have ceaſed to be what it is. Were not Japan an iſland, it would not be in it's preſent ſtate. Were all theſe kingdoms together now to be formed, they would not eaſily become what they did three or four thouſand years ago: the whole animal, which we call the Earth, on the back of which we dwell, is now ſome thouſands of years older. Singular and wonderful are what we term the genetic ſpirit and character of a people. It is inexplicable, it is ineradicable: ancient as the nation, ancient as the country it inhabits. The bramin pertains to his region: no other, he is perſuaded, merits it's ſacred ſoil. Thus the ſiameſe, and the japaneſe; every where, out of their own country, they are untimely planted ſhrubs. What the indian ſolitary thinks

thinks of his god, the ſiameſe of his emperor, we do not think: what to us appear activity and freedom of mind, manly honour and female beauty, in their eyes are far otherwiſe. The confinement of the indian women is to them by no means inſupportable. The empty pomp of a mandarin would be to any other an inſipid farce. It is the ſame with all the cuſtoms of diverſified man, nay with all that appears on our Earth. If our ſpecies be deſtined to approach, in the eternal path of an aſymptote, a point of perfection, which it does not know, and which, with all the labour of a Tantalus, it can never touch; you chineſe and japaneſe, you lamas and bramins, purſue this pilgrimage in a tolerably quiet corner of the veſſel. You trouble not yourſelves about the unattainable point, and remain as you were thouſands of years ago.

7. It is conſolatory to the inveſtigator of man, to obſerve, that Nature has in no organization forgotten, with all the evils ſhe has diſtributed among the human ſpecies, the balſam, that at leaſt mitigates their wounds. The oppreſſive load of aſiatic deſpotiſm exiſts only in nations, that are willing to bear it; that is, are leſs ſenſible of it's cruſhing weight. The hindoo, when, ſinking under the ſevereſt famine, he perceives his emaciated body followed by the dog, that will ſoon make it his prey, awaits his doom with reſignation: he props himſelf up, that he may die erect, while the patiently expecting dog ſtares him in the pale, deathlike face: of ſuch a reſignation we have no idea, yet it frequently reciprocates with the moſt violent guſts of paſſion.

paſſion. This, however, with the climate, and the various facilities of living, is the antidote, that mitigates the many evils of a conſtitution, which to us appears inſupportable. If we lived there, we ſhould not ſubmit to it, for we have underſtanding and courage to alter the vicious ſyſtem; or we ſhould ſlumber too, and fear the evil patiently like the hindoo. Great parent, Nature; with what trifles haſt thou connected the fate of the human ſpecies! With a change of form in the head and brain, with a little alteration in the ſtructure of the organization and nerves, effected by climate, deſcent, and habit, the fate of the World, the whole ſum of what mankind do and ſuffer throughout the Earth, is alſo changed.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XII.

WE now come to the ſhores of the Tigris and Euphrates: but how has the face of hiſtory changed throughout the whole of this region! Babylon and Nineveh, Ecbatana, Perſepolis, and Tyre are no more: nation follows nation, empire follows empire, and of moſt even their very names, and once celebrated monuments are ſwept from the Earth. The appellations of babylonian, aſſyrian, chaldean, mede, and phenician, are no longer born by any people; and no diſtinct traces of their ancient political eſtabliſhments are now to be found. Their empires and towns are deſtroyed, and the people are diſperſed about under different names.

Whence ariſes this variation from the deeply imprinted character of the eaſtern empires? Hindoſtan and China have been more than once overrun by the mungals, nay have worn their yoke for centuries; yet neither has Pekin nor Benares vaniſhed, neither the lamas nor bramins are extinct. To me the difference of their deſtiny appears eaſily explicable, if we conſider the different ſituations and conſtitutions of th —gions. In the eaſt of Aſia,

beyond the great ridge of mountains, the ſouthern nations had but one enemy, the mungals, to dread. Theſe wandered peaceably for ages on their hills, or in their valleys; and when they overran the neighbouring provinces, their objects were dominion and plunder, not deſtruction. Accordingly ſeveral nations have retained their own conſtitutions for thouſands of years under mungal ſovereigns. The throng of people, that ſwarmed between the Euxine and the Caſpian ſea, down to the Mediterranean, was altogether different; and the Tigris and Euphrates were the principal guides of theſe hordes in their migrations. The whole of hither Aſia was filled with nomades at an early period: and the more flouriſhing cities, the more poliſhed empires, aroſe in this fine country, the more did they attract ſavage nations for the purpoſe of plunder, or they themſelves knew not how to employ their increaſing power except in deſtroying others. How often has Babylon, that delightful centre of the commerce of the eaſt and weſt, been taken and deſpoiled! Tyre and Sidon, Jeruſalem, Ecbatana, and Nineveh, experienced no better fate: ſo that this whole region may be conſidered as the garden of deſolation, where one empire ſubverted another, to be itſelf deſtroyed in it's turn.

There is no cauſe to wonder, therefore, that many loſt even their very names, and left ſcarcely a trace behind them. For in what were their traces to be left? Moſt of the people of this region had one language, varied only by different dialects: accordingly, on their downfal, their dialects became confounded

founded with one another, uniting at length in the chaldee syriac arabic medley, which now prevails in that region, almost without any discriminating mark of the mingled people. Their states arose from hordes, and returned to hordes again, without any permanent political stamp. The celebrated monuments of a Belus, a Semiramis, and the rest, could still less assure them the eternity of a pyramid: for they were constructed merely of bricks, which, baked in the sun or by fire, and cemented with bitumen, were easily destroyed, if they did not perish beneath the silent foot of time. The despotic sovereignties of the founders of Nineveh and Babylon as gradually decayed; so that in this celebrated part of the World we find nothing to contemplate, but the names once born among the nations by people now no more. We wander over the graves of departed monarchies, and see the ghosts of their former importance on the Earth.

In fact this importance was so great, that, if we include Egypt within this region, no part of the World, Greece and Rome excepted, has invented and laid the rudiments of so many things for Europe, and through the medium of Europe, for all the nations upon Earth. The number of arts and trades, that appear, from the accounts of the Hebrews, to have been common among many little wandering hordes in these regions, in the earliest periods, is astonishing *. Husbandry, with various implements;

* See Goguet's '*Origine des Loix, &c.*,' 'Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, and their Progress among the Ancients;'

implements; gardening, fiſhing, hunting, and in particular the breeding of cattle; the grinding of corn; the baking of bread; the dreſſing of food; wine; oil; the preparation of wool and leather for garments; ſpinning, weaving, and ſewing; painting, tapeſtry, and needlework; the coining of money; the engraving of ſeals, and cutting of gems; the fabrication of glaſs; coral-fiſhing; mining and metallurgy; various works in metal; the arts of drawing, modelling, and founding; ſtatuary and architecture; muſic and dancing; writing and poetry; trade by weight and meaſure; on the ſea coaſts navigation; in the ſciences, ſome of the elements of aſtronomy, chronology, and geography; phyſic and the art of war; arithmetic, geometry, and mechanics; in political inſtitutions, laws, tribunals, religion, contracts, puniſhments, and a number of moral cuſtoms; were all found in uſe ſo early among the people of hither Aſia, that we could not avoid conſidering the whole cultivation of this region as the remains of an enlightened anteriour world, if we were led to this by no tradition. Only the people wandering at a diſtance about the centre of Aſia became wild and barbarous, ſo that ſooner or later they were to be civilized a ſecond time in various ways.

and more particularly Gatterer's *Kurzer Begriff der Weltgeſchichte*, 'Brief Sketch of Univerſal Hiſtory,' Vol. I, Gottingen, 1785.

CHAPTER I.

Babylon, Aſſyria, Chaldea.

In the extenſive region of hither Aſia, peopled by wandering hordes, the fertile and pleaſant banks of the Tigris and Euphrates muſt ſoon have attracted a number of paſtoral tribes: and as they reſemble a Paradiſe, between mountains on the one hand, and deſerts on the other, there theſe tribes muſt have inclined to fix their reſidence. At preſent indeed this country has loſt much of it's beauty; as it remains almoſt without cultivation, and has been expoſed for centuries to the devaſtations of predatory hordes: yet particular diſtricts ſtill confirm the general teſtimony of the ancient writers, whoſe praiſes of it knew no bounds *. Accordingly this was the birthplace of the firſt monarchies of hiſtory, and an early ſtorehouſe of uſeful arts.

In the courſe of a wandering life nothing could be more natural, than for ſome ambitious ſheik to conceive the deſign of appropriating to himſelf the delightful banks of the Euphrates, and of uniting together a few hordes to maintain the poſſeſſion of them. The hebrew chronicle gives this ſheik the name of Nimrod, who founded his kingdom with the towns of Babylon, Edeſſa, Niſibin, and Cteſiphon: and in the neighbourhood it places another, the kingdom of Aſſyria, with the cities of Reſen, Nineveh, Adiabene, and Calah. From the ſituation

* See Bueſching's Geography, Vol. V, part I.

of theſe kingdoms, with their nature and origin, aroſe the whole of their ſubſequent deſtiny, till it terminated in their deſtruction. For being founded by different races, and bordering too cloſely on each other, what could follow from the quarrelſome ſpirit common to the hordes of theſe regions, but that they muſt look upon each other as enemies, more than once fall under one ſovereignty, and be diſperſed various ways, by the incurſion of more northern mountaineers? This is the brief hiſtory of the kingdoms on the Tigris and Euphrates; which, from ſuch remote periods, and through the mutilated accounts of ſeveral nations, cannot have been handed down to us free from confuſion. In the origin, ſpirit, and conſtitutions of theſe kingdoms, however, both hiſtory and fable agree. They ſprang from ſmall beginnings, and wandering tribes: and they ever retained the character of predatory hordes. Even the deſpotiſm that aroſe in them, and the various ſkill in the arts, for which Babylon was particularly famed, are perfectly conſiſtent with the ſpirit of the country, and the national character of it's inhabitants.

For what were the firſt towns built by theſe fabled monarchs of the World? Great, fortified hordes; the fixed encampments of a tribe, that enjoyed theſe fertile regions, and made excurſions for the purpoſe of plundering others. Hence the vaſt circumference of Babylon, ſo ſoon after it was founded on either ſide the river: hence it's huge walls and towers. The walls were lofty thick ramparts of baked clay, erected for the protection of an extenſive

extenſive camp of nomades; and the towers were watchtowers. The whole town, interſperſed with gardens, was, according to the expreſſion of Ariſtotle, a peloponneſus. The country furniſhed in abundance materials for this ſort of architecture natural to nomades; clay, namely, out of which they formed bricks, and bitumen, with which they learned to cement them. Thus nature facilitated their labours: and the foundations being once laid in the nomade ſtyle, it was eaſy to enrich and beautify them, when the horde had made excurſions, and returned with booty.

And what were the famous conqueſts of a Ninus, a Semiramis, and the reſt, other than predatory expeditions, like thoſe of the preſent arabs, curdes, and turcomans? The aſſyrians were even by deſcent mountain banditti, whoſe names have been handed down to poſterity with no other renown, than that of having robbed and plundered. From the remoteſt periods the arabs are particularly named in the ſervice of theſe conquerors of the World: and we know the unchangeable way of life of theſe people, which will continue as long as the deſerts of Arabia ſhall endure. At a later period the chaldeans appear on the ſtage: and theſe, both from their deſcent, and their firſt places of abode, were plundering curdes *. In hiſtory they have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by nothing but devaſtation: for the fame they have acquired for ſcience is pro-

* See Schlœtzer on the chaldees, in the *Repertorium für die morgenländiſche Litteratur*, 'Repertory of oriental Literature,' Vol. VIII, p. 113.

bably an honorary title, which they gained as part of their booty in the conqueſt of Babylon. Thus we may conſider the fine country bounded by theſe ſtreams as the theatre of wandering tribes, or predatory hordes, both in ancient and modern times, who here collected their plunder in ſtrong holds, till at length they ſank under the voluptuous warmth of the climate, and, debilitated by luxury, became a prey to others.

The celebrated works of art of a Semiramis, or even a Nebuchadnezzar, cannot eaſily be ſuppoſed to ſay more. The earlieſt expeditions of the aſſyrians were towards Egypt: the arts of this peaceful civilized country, therefore, furniſhed in all probability the prototypes for the decoration of Babylon. The famed coloſſal ſtatue of Belus, and the ſculptures on the brick walls of the great city, appear to have been completely in the egyptian ſtyle: and that the fabulous queen repaired to the mountain Bagiſthan, to imprint her image on it's ſummit, plainly indicates an imitation of Egypt. For as the ſouthern country afforded her no granite rocks for an eternal monument, ſhe was impelled to this.

The productions of Nebuchadnezzar, likewiſe, were nothing but coloſſal ſtatues, palaces of brick, and hanging gardens. What was wanting in art and materials was attempted to be made up by magnitude: and at leaſt a babylonian character was given to the more feeble monument by pleaſant gardens. I do not much regret, therefore, the decay of theſe huge piles of earth; for, it is probable, they were far from ranking high as works of art: what I wiſh

is,

is, that men would ſeek among their ruins for tables of chaldee writing, which are certainly to be found there, according to the teſtimony of ſeveral travellers *.

Not properly egyptian arts, but the arts of erratic hordes, and afterwards of commerce, belonged to this region, as indeed the nature of it's ſituation demanded. The Euphrates was ſubject to inundations, and conſequently required canals to draw off it's waters, and enable it to impart fertility to a more extenſive diſtrict. Hence the invention of water wheels and pumps, if they were not borrowed from the egyptians. The country at ſome diſtance from this river, which was once inhabited and fruitful, is now ſterile, becauſe it is a ſtranger to the active hand of induſtry. From the care of cattle to huſbandry the ſtep here was eaſy, as the ſettled inhabitant was invited to it by Nature herſelf. The fine fruits of the garden and the field, that ſpontaneouſly ſhot forth on the banks of the Euphrates with uncommon luxuriance, and richly rewarded the little care they required, converted the ſhepherd, almoſt without his being conſcious of the change, into a huſbandman and gardener. A wood of beautiful palm-trees gave him food in their fruits, and timber for the erection of a dwelling more ſecure than his tent. The clay baked with facility aſſiſted him in it's conſtruction; and thus the tent was imperceptibly changed for a better, though leſs moveable habita-

* See Della Valle on the ruins near Ardeſh, Niebuhr on the heaps of ruins near Hella, &c.

tion.

tion. The ſame earth afforded him veſſels, and therewith a hundred conveniencies for domeſtic life. He learned to bake bread, and to dreſs his victuals, till at length he was led by commerce to thoſe voluptuous feaſts and entertainments, for which the babylonians were famed in very remote times. From making little idols of baked clay, he ſoon learned to faſhion and bake coloſſal ſtatues; from the models of which to moulds for caſting metals the progreſs was eaſy. As letters or figures imprinted on the ſoft clay were rendered firm by the aid of fire, he learned imperceptibly to preſerve a knowledge of former times in bricks, and improved on the obſervations of his predeceſſors. Even aſtronomy was a fortunate invention of the wandering tribes of theſe regions. The ſhepherd, as he ſat feeding his flocks on the beautiful and extenſive plain, obſerved in quiet leiſure the riſing and ſetting of the bright ſtars in his vaſt and clear horizon. He gave them names, as he gave names to his ſheep, and noted down their changes in his memory. Theſe obſervations were continued on the flat roofs of the houſes of Babylon, on which men amuſed themſelves with converſation after the heat of the day: till at length a particular building was erected for the purpoſe of this attractive and indiſpenſable ſcience, which continued without interruption the records of the celeſtial periods. Thus has Nature incited man to the acquiſition of knowledge and ſcience; ſo that even theſe her gifts are as much local productions, as any others upon Earth. At the foot of Caucaſus her fountains of naphtha put fire into the hand of man; whence

whence we cannot doubt, that the fable of Prometheus originated there: in the pleaſant palm-groves on the banks of the Euphrates ſhe gently moulded the wandering ſhepherd into an induſtrious inhabitant of towns and cities.

Another claſs of babyloniſh arts aroſe from the circumſtance of this country's having been from ancient times, as it ever will be, a central point of the commerce between the eaſt and weſt. No celebrated city aroſe in the heart of Perſia, as no river flowed thence to the ſea: but what points of animation were the Hindus and the Ganges, the Tigris and Euphrates! The Perſian gulf was near, which early enriched Babylon, by the tranſport of the merchandize of India, and made it the parent of commercial induſtry *. The ſplendour of the babylonians in their linen, tapeſtry, needlework, and other ſtuffs, is wellknown: wealth introduced luxury: luxury and induſtry brought the two ſexes cloſer together than in other aſiatic provinces, to which the reigns of ſome queens probably not a little contributed. In ſhort, the formation of theſe people proceeded ſo entirely from their ſituation and mode of life, that it would have been a ſubject for much wonder, had nothing extraordinary been produced from ſuch circumſtances, in ſuch a part of the World. Nature has her favourite ſpots on the Earth, which, particularly on the banks of rivers, and ſelect parts of the

* Eichhorn's *Geſchichte des Oſtindiſchen Handels*, 'Hiſtory of the Trade of the Eaſt Indies,' p. 12: Gatterer's *Einleitung zur ſynchroniſtiſchen Univerſalhiſtorie*, 'Introduction to a ſynchroniſtical Univerſal Hiſtory,' p. 77.

ſeacoaſt,

ſeacoaſt, excite and reward the induſtry of man. As an Egypt aroſe on the Nile, a Hindoſtan on the Ganges; here ſhe created a Nineveh and a Babylon, and in more recent times a Seleucia and Palmyra. Had Alexander attained the accompliſhment of his wiſh, to rule the World from Babylon, how different an aſpect would this delightful country have preſerved for ages!

The aſſyrians and babylonians ſhared alſo in alphabetical writing, the poſſeſſion of which the wandering tribes of hither Aſia had reckoned among their advantages from time immemorial. I ſhall not here enter into the queſtion, to what people this noble invention is properly due *: ſuffice it, that all the aramean tribes boaſted of this preſent of the primitive world, and held hieroglyphics in a ſort of religious abomination. I cannot perſuade myſelf, therefore, that hieroglyphics were employed by the babylonians: their magi interpreted the ſtars, events, accidents, viſions, and ſecret writing; but not hieroglyphics. Thus the writing of Fate, that appeared to the revelling Belſhazzar †, conſiſted of letters and ſyllables, which, after the oriental manner, appeared to him in confuſed lines, but not in images. Even the paintings, that Semiramis placed on her walls, the ſyrian letters, that ſhe directed to be cut on the rock of her image, confirm the uſe of letters, without hieroglyphics, among theſe people, in the remoteſt times. Theſe alone rendered it poſſible for the babylonians ſo early to have written con-

* Of this elſewhere. † Daniel V. 5, 25.

tracts,

tracts, chronicles of their kingdom, and a continued ſeries of celeſtial obſervations: by theſe alone they have tranſmitted themſelves to poſterity as a civilized people. It is true, neither their aſtronomical catalogues, nor any of their writings, have reached us, though they were extant in the time of Ariſtotle: yet, that they once had ſuch gives no ſmall fame to this people.

When we talk of the learning of the chaldeans, however, we muſt not meaſure it by our ſtandard. At Babylon the ſciençes were confined excluſively to a claſs of men of learning, who, on the decline of the nation, became ultimately deteſtable impoſtors. They were called chaldeans probably from the period when the chaldeans ruled over Babylon: for the claſs of literati had been a regular order of the ſtate, eſtabliſhed by the government, from the time of Belus: and it is very likely, that this claſs, by way of flattery to their rulers, aſſumed the name of their nation. They were the philoſophers of the court, and accordingly ſtooped to all the baſe arts and deceptions of court philoſophy. In theſe times, it may be preſumed, they added as little to their ancient ſtores, as the chineſe tribunal to the improvement of learning in China.

The proximity of the mountains, from which ſo many uncivilized nations came thronging down, was in ſome reſpects fortunate, in others unfortunate, to this delightful country. The aſſyrian and babylonian empires were ſubdued by the chaldeans and medes, and theſe were conquered by the perſians, till at length the whole became a ſubjugated deſert,

deſert, and the ſeat of empire was transferred to a more northern region. Thus we have not much to learn from theſe empires, either in war or politics. Their mode of attack was rude, their conqueſts only plunderings, their polity the miſerable mode of governing by ſatraps, which has almoſt always prevailed among the orientals in theſe parts. Hence the permanent form of theſe monarchies: hence the frequent revolts againſt them, and their total overthrow by the capture of a ſingle city, or one or two general battles. Indeed, ſoon after the empire was firſt overturned, Arbaces endeavoured to eſtabliſh a ſort of connected ariſtocracy of ſatraps: but he did not ſucceed; as all the median and aramean tribes in general knew no mode of government except the deſpotic. Their mode of life had been that of nomades: accordingly their idea of a king was that of a ſheik, and father of a family, and this left no room for political liberty, or the joint ſway of many. As one Sun enlightens the Heavens, ſo ſhould there be but one ruler on Earth, and he ſoon aſſumed all the ſplendour of the Sun, all the glory of a terreſtrial divinity. Every thing flowed from his favour: every thing attached to his perſon: in him the ſtate lived, and with him it commonly terminated. A haram was the court of the prince: he was acquainted with nothing but ſilver and gold, men-ſervants and maid-ſervants, lands that he poſſeſſed as fields of paſture, and herds of men whom he drove wherever he pleaſed, if indeed he forbore from ſlaughtering them. Barbarous government of wandering hordes! yet occaſionally, though but

ſeldom, it enjoyed a good prince, the true ſhepherd and father of his people.

CHAPTER II.

Medes and Perſians.

THE medes are known in the hiſtory of the World for warlike deeds and luxury; but have never diſtinguiſhed themſelves by new inventions, or improvements in the conſtitution of the ſtate. They were mountaineers, brave and ſkilled in horſemanſhip, the natives of a northern country for the moſt part uncultivated. With theſe qualifications, they ſubverted the ancient aſſyrian empire, the ſultans of which indolently ſlumbered in their harams; and ſoon withdrew themſelves from the new empire of Aſſyria. But they were as quickly ſubjected by their ſagacious Dejoces to a rigorous monarchical government, which at length exceeded the perſian itſelf in luxury and ſplendour. At length they were united, under Cyrus the great, with that multitude of nations, which exalted the perſian monarchs into ſovereigns of the World.

If there be any prince, with whom hiſtory ſeems to deviate into fiction, it is Cyrus, the founder of the perſian empire; whether we read the accounts of this child of the gods, the conqueror and lawgiver of nations, given by the hebrews or the perſians, Herodotus or Xenophon. Unqueſtionably the laſt-mentioned pleaſing hiſtorian, who caught the idea of a Cyropedia from his tutor, collected

ſome

ſome truths concerning him, during his campaigns in Aſia: but as Cyrus had long been dead, he could have heard them only after the aſiatic manner, in that ſtyle of exaggerated praiſe, which theſe people always employ in their accounts of their kings and heroes. Thus Xenophon was to Cyrus, what Homer was to Ulyſſes and Achilles, with regard to whom the poet had ſome truths, on which to build. To us, however, it is of little importance, which of the two deals moſt in fiction: it is ſufficient for our purpoſe, that Cyrus ſubdued Aſia, and founded an empire, which extended from the Hindus to the Mediterranean ſea. If Xenophon have truly deſcribed the manners of the ancient perſians, among whom Cyrus was educated; the german may be proud, that he is probably of a race allied to theirs, and may the Cyropedia be read by every prince in Germany.

But, thou great and good Cyrus, could my voice reach thy grave in Paſagarda, it ſhould interrogate thy duſt, for what purpoſe thou becameſt ſuch a conqueror. In the youthful courſe of thy victories, didſt thou aſk thyſelf of what uſe the innumerable nations, the unbounded regions, ſubjected to thy name, would be to thyſelf and thy poſterity? Could thy ſpirit be always preſent to them? could it continue to live and operate on all ſucceeding generations? And if not, what a burden didſt thou impoſe on thy ſucceſſors, in giving them to wear the royal robe made up of ſuch complicated patches? It's parts could not fail to break aſunder, or preſs the wearer down. This was the hiſtory of Perſia under

under the ſucceſſors of Cyrus. His ſpirit of conqueſt ſet before them ſo vaſt an object, that they aimed at enlarging the empire, when it could no longer be enlarged: thus they roamed and ravaged on all ſides, till the ambition of a provoked enemy brought them to a melancholy end. The perſian empire ſubſiſted ſcarcely two centuries; and it is wonderful, that it's duration was ſo long; for it's root was ſo ſmall, and it's branches ſo extenſive, that it muſt of neceſſity fall to the ground.

Whenever the empire of humanity ſhall be eſtabliſhed among mankind, the mad ſpirit of conqueſt, which neceſſarily deſtroys itſelf in a few generations, will immediately be renounced at her dictates. You drive men like cattle; and join them together as if they were inanimate ſubſtances, without reflecting, that they have minds, and that perhaps the laſt, the outermoſt piece of the fabric will break off, and cruſh the builder. A kingdom conſiſting of a ſingle nation is a family, a wellregulated houſhold: it repoſes on itſelf, for it is founded by Nature, and ſtands and falls by time alone. An empire formed by forcing together a hundred nations, and a hundred and fifty provinces, is no body politic, but a monſter.

Such was the perſian empire from the beginning; though it became more evident after the time of Cyrus. His ſon, in every thing elſe different from his father, was deſirous of extending his conqueſts ſtill farther; and ſo madly attacked Egypt and Ethiopia, that ſcarcely famine itſelf could repel him from the deſerts. What did he and his empire gain

by it? or in what did he benefit the conquered lands? He ravaged Egypt, and deſtroyed the ſplendid temples and other monuments of art in Thebes. Senſeleſs deſtroyer! Slaughtered generations are replaced by other generations ſucceeding: but ſuch works are never to be reſtored. Even now they lie in ruins, unexplored, and hardly to be diſtinguiſhed: every traveller regrets the madneſs of the ſot, who robbed us of theſe treaſures of antiquity for no cauſe, and to no end.

Scarcely had Cambyſes fallen a victim to his own folly, when even the wiſer Darius ſet out from the point, where he had left off. He attacked the ſcythians and hindoos: he plundered Thrace and Macedonia: yet all that he gained was the diſperſion of ſome ſparks among the macedonians, that in time burſt out into a flame, by which the laſt king of his name was conſumed. The greeks he attacked with little avail; and his ſucceſſor Xerxes aſſailed them with leſs. Now if we read the catalogue of ſhips and men employed in the military expeditions of theſe deſpots, and furniſhed to the mad conqueror by the whole perſian empire; if we conſider the ſeas of blood, that flowed in every revolt of unjuſtly ſubjugated countries on the Euphrates, the Nile, the Hindus, the Halys, and the Araxes, for no other reaſon but that what once was called perſian might retain the name of perſian ſtill; who would ſhed feminine tears, ſuch as Xerxes wept at the ſight of his innocent flock deſtined for ſlaughter, and not rather tears of blood, tears of indignation, that ſuch a ſenſeleſs empire, and ſo inimical to mankind,

kind, ſhould bear the ſtamp of a Cyrus on it's forehead? Did any perſian ravager of the World found ſuch kingdoms, cities, and edifices, as he deſtroyed, or endeavoured to deſtroy; Babylon, Thebes, Sidon, Greece, and Athens? Was any one of them capable of founding ſuch?

It is a rigorous yet beneficent law of fate, that all overgrown power, as well as all evil, ſhould deſtroy itſelf. The decline of Perſia commenced with the death of Cyrus: for though it maintained it's external ſplendour for a century, particularly in conſequence of the meaſures taken by Darius, the worm, that gnaws the vitals of every deſpotic empire, lurked within. Cyrus divided his dominions into viceroyalties; and theſe he kept in due ſubjection by his own ſuperintendance, having eſtabliſhed a ſpeedy communication with them all, and watching over the whole himſelf. Darius divided the empire, or at leaſt his court, ſtill more nicely, and ſtood on his elevated ſtation as a juſt and active ruler. But the great kings, born to the throne of deſpotiſm, ſoon became effeminate tyrants. Xerxes, even on his diſgraceful flight from Greece, when far other thoughts ſhould have occupied his mind, began a ſcandalous amour at Sardis. Moſt of his ſucceſſors trod in the ſame ſteps: and thus corruptions, revolts, conſpiracies, aſſaſſinations, unſucceſsful enterprizes, and the like, are almoſt the only remarkable occurrences, that the latter hiſtory of Perſia affords. The minds of the nobles were depraved, and thoſe of the commonalty participated the corruption. At length no ſovereign was ſecure of his

life; and the throne tottered even under the beſt princes: till Alexander burſt into Aſia, and in a few battles put an end to the internally unſettled empire. Unhappily this fell out under a monarch, who deſerved a better fate: he innocently ſuffered for the ſins of his forefathers, and died by the baſeſt treachery. If any hiſtory in the World proclaim in conſpicuous characters, that licentiouſneſs deſtroys itſelf, that an unlimited and almoſt lawleſs power is the moſt fearful weakneſs, and that every effeminate government conducted by ſatraps is the moſt infallible poiſon, as well for the prince as for the people; it is the hiſtory of Perſia.

For theſe reaſons, there was not a ſingle nation, on which the empire of Perſia had a happy influence: it deſtroyed, and did not build up: it compelled the provinces to pay diſgraceful tributes, one to the queen's girdle, another to her head-dreſs, a third to her necklace; but it did not bind them together by better laws and inſtitutions. All the ſplendour, all the ſuperhuman pomp, all the divine homage, of theſe monarchs, are now no more: their favourites and ſatraps are duſt, like themſelves; and the gold they extorted is perhaps equally buried in the earth. Their very hiſtory is a fable: a fable which, coming from the mouth of a greek and of an aſiatic, can ſcarcely be reconciled. Even the ancient languages of Perſia are dead: and the ſole monuments of it's magnificence, the ruins of Perſepolis, remain, with their elegant letters and coloſſal figures, hitherto inexplicable. Fate has taken vengeance on theſe ſultans: they are ſwept away

from the face of the Earth, as if by the peſtilent ſimoom, and where their memory ſurvives, as among the greeks, it ſurvives with diſgrace, the baſis of more famed and more to be admired greatneſs.

Time has favoured us with no mental production of the perſians, except the books of Zoroaſter, if they could be proved to be genuine *. As a whole, however, they agree ſo little with many other accounts of the religion of theſe people; they bear, too, ſuch evident marks of a mixture with later opinions of the bramins and chriſtians; that the groundwork alone can be admitted to be genuine, and this admits of eaſy explanation. The ancient perſians, for example, were, like all rude nations, and particularly mountaineers, worſhippers of the vital elements of the World: but as they quitted their uncivilized ſtate, and raiſed themſelves by their victories almoſt to the higheſt pinnacle of luxury; it was neceſſary, according to the mode of Aſia, that they ſhould have a more refined ſyſtem or ceremonial of religion.

With this they were furniſhed by Zoroaſter, or Zerduſht, under the auſpices of Darius Hyſtaſpes. The ceremonial of the perſian government is evidently the baſis of this ſyſtem. As ſeven princes ſtood round the throne of the king, ſeven ſpirits ſtand before 'God, and execute' his commands throughout the World. Ormuzd, the good power of light, had inceſſantly to contend againſt Ahriman,

* *Zend-Aveſta, Ouvrage de Zoroaſtre,* 'Zend-Aveſta, a Work of Zoroaſter,' by Anquetil du Perron, Paris, 1771.

the prince of darkneſs, while every good being aided him in the conflict: a political idea, which the perſonification of the enemies of Perſia, who appear throughout the Zend-Aveſta as the ſervants of Ahriman, as evil ſpirits, evidently elucidates. All the moral ordinances of this religion too are politic: they relate to purity of body and mind, domeſtic harmony, and reciprocity of kind actions: they recommend agriculture, and the planting of uſeful trees; the extermination of vermin, which appear as an army of evil ſpirits in bodily form; attention to decorum; early and prolific marriages; the education of children; honouring the king and his ſervants; love towards the ſtate: and all theſe after the perſian manner. In ſhort, the baſis of this ſyſtem appears obviouſly as a political religion, ſuch as at the time of Darius could no where have been invented and introduced, except in the perſian empire. Ancient national ideas and opinions, too, muſt neceſſarily lie at the bottom of this ſuperſtition. Hence the adoration of fire, which was undoubtedly an ancient religious worſhip, in the neighbourhood of the ſprings of naphtha, near the Caſpian ſea. Hence ſo many ſuperſtitious practices for the purification of the body; and that extreme fear of demons, which, in almoſt every ſenſible object, forms the baſe of the prayers, vows, and ſacred ceremonies of the parſees. All theſe ſhow the low degree of mental cultivation attained by the people, for whoſe benefit this religion was invented: and this is by no means inconſiſtent with the idea we entertain of the ancient perſians.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, the ſmall part of this ſyſtem, which refers to general notions of nature, is altogether drawn from the doctrines of the magi, which it merely refines and exalts in it's own manner. It ſubjects the two principles of creation, light and darkneſs, to an infinitely ſuperiour being, which it ſtyles boundleſs time; and lets the good every where overcome the evil, and ultimately ſo ſwallow it up, that every thing terminates in a holy kingdom of light. Contemplated on this ſide the political religion of Zoroaſter is a kind of philoſophical theodicy, ſuch as he could offer to the age in which he lived, and the notions that then prevailed.

In this origin we perceive the cauſe, why the religion of Zoroaſter could not poſſeſs the ſtability of the inſtitutions of the bramins and lamas. The deſpotic empire was eſtabliſhed long before it; and thus it was or became only a ſort of monkiſh religion, adapted to the political ſyſtem. Now though Darius ſuppreſſed by force the magi, who formed a diſtinct body of men in the perſian empire; and was eager to introduce this religion, which laid ſpiritual fetters alone on the monarch; it could never be any thing more than a ſect, though it was the ruling ſect for a century. Accordingly the worſhip of fire extended widely: to the left, beyond Media, as far as Cappadocia, where it's temples were ſtanding even in the days of Strabo; to the right, as far as the Hindus. But as the perſian empire completely ſunk beneath the fortune of Alexander, this, the religion of the ſtate, alſo found an end. It's ſeven amſhaſpands ſerved no more, and the image

of Ormuzd no longer ſat on the perſian throne. It's ſeaſon was paſt, and it became an empty ſhadow, as is the religion of the hindoos out of their own country. By the greeks it was tolerated; at length it was perſecuted with unſpeakable rigour by the mohammedans; and in conſequence it's melancholy remnant took flight to a corner of India; where, like a ruin of antiquity, without end or purpoſe, it continues it's ancient faith and ſuperſtition, calculated for the perſian empire alone, and has amplified it with the opinions of the nations among whom it has been thrown by fate, probably without being conſcious of the change. Such an augmentation naturally ariſes out of the courſe of time and events: for every religion, when forced from it's own ſoil and ſphere, muſt neceſſarily be influenced by the living world around it. For the reſt, the generality of parſees in India are quiet, peaceable, induſtrious people, and, conſidered as a ſociety, ſurpaſs many other religious ſects. They aſſiſt their poor with great zeal, and expel every irreclaimably immoral perſon from their community *.

* See Niebuhr's Travels.

CHAPTER III.

The Hebrews.

THE deſcendants of Heber make a very diminutive figure, when we conſider them immediately after the perſians. Their country was ſmall; and the part they acted on the ſtage of the World, both in and out of this country, was inſignificant, as they ſeldom appeared in the character of conquerors. Yet through the will of Fate, and a ſeries of events, the cauſes of which are eaſy to be traced, they have had more influence on other nations, than any people of Aſia: nay in ſome degree, through the mediums of chriſtianity and mohammedaniſm, they have been the ground work of enlightening the greater part of the World.

That the hebrews had written annals of their actions, at a time in which moſt of the now enlightened nations were totally ignorant of writing, annals which they ventured to carry up to the beginning of the World, diſtinguiſhes them in an eminent manner. But they are ſtill more advantageouſly diſtinguiſhed by this, that they neither derived their account from hieroglyphics, nor obſcured it by them; for it is taken merely from family chronicles, and interwoven with hiſtorical tales or poems; and it's value as hiſtory is evidently increaſed by this ſimplicity of form. This account, too, derives ſingular weight from it's having been preſerved for ſome

thouſands

thouſands of years, with almoſt ſuperſtitious ſcrupuloſity, as a divine prerogative of their race, and introduced by chriſtianity into nations, that have examined and queſtioned, explained and uſed it, with a ſpirit of freedom unknown to the jews. It is indeed remarkable, that the accounts of theſe people given by other nations, by Manetho the egyptian in particular, ſhould differ ſo widely from the hiſtory of the hebrews themſelves: yet, if the latter be impartially conſidered, and the ſpirit of the narrative underſtood, it certainly deſerves more credit, than the ſlanders of foreign enemies, by whom the jews were deſpiſed. I ſcruple not, therefore, to take the hiſtory of the hebrews, as related by themſelves, for my groundwork: begging the reader, at the ſame time, not abſolutely to reject the tales of their enemies with contempt, but merely to read them with caution.

Thus, according to the moſt ancient national ſtories of the hebrews, their progenitor paſſed the Euphrates as ſheik of a wandering horde, and at laſt arrived in Paleſtine. Here he found room without oppoſition, to purſue the paſtoral life of his anceſtors, and worſhip the god of his fathers after the manner of his tribe. His poſterity of the third generation were led into Egypt by the ſingular good fortune of one of their family, and there continued to follow the paſtoral life, without mixing with the inhabitants of the country; till, it is not exactly known in what generation, they were emancipated by their future legiſlator from the contempt and oppreſſion, which from their character of ſhepherds they

they muſt have experienced among thoſe people, and conducted into Arabia. Here the great man, the greateſt theſe people had ever had, completed his work; and gave them a conſtitution, founded on the religion and mode of life of their fathers it is true, but ſo intermingled with egyptian polity, as on the one hand to raiſe them from a wandering horde to the ſtate of a cultivated nation, yet on the other to wean them completely from Egypt, ſo that they were never after deſirous of treading the ſwarthy ſoil. All the laws of Moſes evince wonderful reflection: they extend from the greateſt to the ſmalleſt things, to ſway the ſpirit of the nation in every circumſtance of life, and to be, as Moſes frequently repeats, an everlaſting law.

This profound ſyſtem of laws was by no means the production of a moment: the legiſlator added to it as circumſtances required, and before his death bound the whole nation to the obſervance of it's future political conſtitution. For forty years he exacted a ſtrict obedience to his injunctions: perhaps ſo long a time was conſumed by the people in the deſerts of Arabia, that, the firſt ſtubborn generation being dead, a people brought up to theſe cuſtoms might ſettle in the land of it's fathers properly qualified for their exerciſe.

But the wiſh of this patriotic man was not fulfilled. The aged Moſes died on the confines of the land he ſought; and when his ſucceſſor entered it, he enjoyed not ſufficient authority and reſpect, to follow completely the plan of the lawgiver. The hebrews purſued not their conqueſts ſo far as they ought:

ought: they were too precipitate in dividing the land, and ſitting down in peace. The more potent tribes firſt took to themſelves the largeſt portions, ſo that their weaker brethren could ſcarcely find a ſettlement, and one of the tribes indeed was under the neceſſity of being divided *. Beſide this, many ſmaller nations remained in the country: ſo that the iſraelites retained their bittereſt hereditary enemies among them, and deſtroyed that external and internal compact rotundity, which alone could ſecure their preſcribed limits.

From this incomplete eſtabliſhment, that ſeries of inſecure times, which ſcarcely ever permitted the encroaching people to be at reſt, could not but enſue. The leaders, that neceſſity raiſed up, were for the moſt part to be conſidered only as ſucceſsful partiſans: and when at length the people came to be governed by kings, theſe had ſo much to do with their land divided into tribes, that the third was the laſt who reigned over the whole of the disjointed realm. Five ſixths of the kingdom withdrew from his ſucceſſor; and how could two ſuch feeble governments ſubſiſt in the neighbourhood of powerful enemies, to whoſe attacks they were inceſſantly expoſed? The kingdom of Iſrael had properly no regular conſtitution; and it embraced the worſhip of foreign gods, in order to preclude any connexion with it's rival, who worſhipped the le-

* The tribe of Dan got a corner above and to the left of the land. See the *Geiſt der Ebraiſchen Poeſie*, 'Spirit of Hebrew Poetry,' Vol. II.

gitimate

gitimate god of it's own land. It was natural, that, according to the language of theſe people, there ſhould be no king in Iſrael that feared the Lord: for, if there had, his people would have gone up to Jeruſalem to worſhip, and his dominion, returning to the monarchy from which it had been torn, would have continued no longer in his hands. Thus they wallowed in the moſt wretched imitation of foreign manners and cuſtoms, till the king of Aſſyria came, and plundered the little realm, as a boy would rob a bird's-neſt. The other kingdom, which at leaſt had the ſupport of the ancient conſtitution, eſtabliſhed by two potent kings, and a fortified capital, held out ſome time longer; though only till a more powerful victor thought it worth his attention. The ſpoiler Nebuchadnezzar came, and made it's feeble monarchs firſt tributaries, and laſtly, after they revolted, ſlaves. The country was ravaged, the capital was raſed, and Judah led to Babylon in as diſgraceful captivity, as Iſrael had been to Media. Thus, conſidered as a ſtate, ſcarcely any nation exhibits a more contemptible figure in hiſtory than this, the reigns of two of it's kings excepted.

What was the cauſe of all this? In my opinion it is clear, from the courſe of the narrative itſelf: for it was impoſſible, that a nation with ſuch a defective conſtitution, both internally and externally, ſhould proſper in this part of the World. If David overran the deſert as far as the banks of the Euphrates, and thereby only ſtirred up greater enemies againſt his ſucceſſor, could he thus give the nation the

the ſtability it wanted, particularly as the ſeat of government was fixed nearly at the ſouthern extremity of the kingdom? His ſon introduced foreign wives, trade, and luxury into the land: into a country, that, like the united cantons of Switzerland, was capable of ſupporting huſbandmen and ſhepherds alone, and actually had ſuch in great multitudes to ſupport. Beſides, as he carried on his trade for the moſt part not by means of his own nation, but of the edomites, whom he had conquered, luxury was pernicious to his kingdom. For the reſt, ſince the time of Moſes no ſecond legiſlator had been found among theſe people, who was capable of bringing back the ſtate, ſhattered from it's beginning, to a fundamental conſtitution ſuitable to the times. The learned claſs ſoon declined; they who were zealous for the laws of the land had voices, but not the arm of power; the kings were for the moſt part either effeminate, or creatures of the prieſts. Thus two things diametrically oppoſite, the refined nomocracy, on which Moſes had ſettled the conſtitution, and a ſort of theocratic monarchy, ſuch as prevailed among all the nations of this region of deſpotiſm, contended together: and thus the law of Moſes became a law of bondage to a people, to whom it was intended to have been a law of political liberty.

In the courſe of time the caſe became altered, but not improved. When the jews, ſet at liberty by Cyrus, returned from bondage, much diminiſhed in number, they had learned many other things, but no genuine political conſtitution. How, indeed,

deed, was the knowledge of ſuch a conſtitution to have been acquired in Aſſyria or Chaldea? Their ſentiments fluctuated between monarchical and ſacerdotal government: they built a temple, as if this would have revived the times of Moſes and Solomon: their religion was phariſaical; their learning, a minute nibbling at ſyllables, and this confined to a ſingle book; their patriotiſm, a ſlaviſh attachment to ancient laws miſunderſtood, ſo as to render them ridiculous or contemptible to all the neighbouring nations. Their only hope and conſolation reſted on ſome ancient prophecies, which, equally miſconceived, were ſuppoſed to promiſe them the illuſory ſovereignty of the World. Thus they lived and ſuffered for ſome centuries, under the greeks of Syria, the idumeans, and the romans; till at length, through an animoſity, to which hiſtory ſcarce exhibits a parallel, both the metropolis and the reſt of the country were deſtroyed, in a manner that grieved the humane conqueror himſelf. On this they were diſperſed through all the territories of the roman empire; and with the diſperſion ſuch an influence of the jews upon the human race commenced, as could hardly have been conceived from a land of ſuch ſmall extent; ſince theſe people had never diſtinguiſhed themſelves, in the whole courſe of their hiſtory, as ſkilled in war or politics, and ſtill leſs as inventors in the arts and ſciences.

But, ſhortly before the downfal of the jewiſh ſtate, chriſtianity aroſe in the heart of it, and in the beginning not only retained it's connexion with judaiſm, and conſequently admitted the ſacred writ-

ings

ings of the jews, but even reſted principally on theſe the divine miſſion of it's Meſſiah. Thus through chriſtianity the books of the jews were introduced to every nation, that embraced the chriſtian doctrines; and according to the manner in which they have been underſtood, and the uſe that has been made of them, they have benefitted or injured the whole chriſtian World. Their effect was good, ſo far as in them Moſes made the doctrine of one god, creator of the World, the baſis of all religion and philoſophy, and, in many poems and precepts throughout theſe writings, ſpoke of this god with a dignity and importance, a gratitude and reſignation, of which few examples are to be found in any other human work. We need not compare theſe books with the Shoo-King of the chineſe, or the Sadder and Zend-Aveſta of the perſians, to perceive the ſuperiority of the hebrew ſcriptures over all the other religious writings of antiquity: a compariſon of them with the much more recent Koran, even though Mohammed availed himſelf of the doctrines both of the jews and chriſtians, will evince their inconteſtible preeminence. It was gratifying alſo to the curioſity of the human mind, to find in theſe books ſuch popular anſwers to the queſtions reſpecting the age and creation of the World, the origin of evil, and the like, as every man could underſtand and comprehend: to ſay nothing of the inſtructive hiſtory of the nation, and the pure morality of ſeveral books in the collection. Be the jewiſh computation of time as it may, it afforded a received and general ſtandard, and a thread with which

which to connect the events of univerſal hiſtory. Many other advantages of philology, exegeſis, and dialectic, may be paſſed over; as indeed they might have been obtained from other works. In all theſe ways the writings of the hebrews unqueſtionably have had an advantageous effect in the hiſtory of mankind.

With all theſe advantages, however, it is equally inconteſtible, that the miſconception and abuſe of theſe writings have been detrimental to the human mind in various reſpects; and the more as they have operated upon it under the claim of being divine. How many abſurd coſmogonies have been framed from the ſimple and ſublime hiſtory of the creation given by Moſes! How many rigid doctrines, and unſatisfactory hypotheſes, have been ſpun from his ſerpent and apple! For ages the forty days of the deluge have formed the peg, on which natural hiſtorians have deemed it indiſpenſable to hang all the phenomena of the ſtructure of our Earth: and for no leſs a time the hiſtorians of the human race have chained down all the nations of the Earth to the people of God, and a miſunderſtood prophetic viſion of four monarchies. Thus many hiſtories have been mutilated, that they might be explained by a hebrew name: the whole ſyſtem of mankind, of the Earth, and of the Sun, has been narrowed, for the purpoſe of vindicating the Sun of Joſhua, and a few years in the duration of the World, the preciſe determination of which could never be the object of theſe writings. How many great men, among whom even a Newton himſelf is

to be reckoned, have the jewiſh chronology and the Apocalypſe robbed of time, that might have been employed in more uſeful inquiries! Nay even with regard to morality and political inſtitutions, the writings of the hebrews, by being miſconceived and miſapplied, have impoſed fetters on the minds of thoſe nations, by which they have been acknowledged. For want of making a diſtinction between different periods, and different degrees of intellectual cultivation, the intolerant ſpirit of the jewiſh religion has been deemed a pattern for chriſtians to follow: and paſſages of the Old Teſtament have been adduced to juſtify the inconſiſtent attempt of making chriſtianity, which knows no conſtraint, and is merely a moral ſyſtem, a judaical religion of the ſtate. In like manner it is undeniable, that the ceremonies of the Temple, and even the language of the hebrew worſhip, have influenced the religious ſervice of all chriſtian nations, their hymns, their litanies, and the oratory of their pulpits; ſo that in many inſtances the oriental idiom pervades all their prayers. The laws of Moſes were intended for that climate, and for a nation very differently conſtituted: their laws and political conſtitution, therefore, adapt themſelves fundamentally to no chriſtian people. Thus the choiceſt good, through various miſapplication, verges upon numerous evils. Do not the ſacred elements of nature effect deſtruction? may not the moſt efficacious medicines act as the moſt virulent poiſon?

The nation of the jews itſelf, ſince it's diſperſion, has done ſervice or injury by it's preſence to the people

people of the Earth, according as they have uſed it. In the early ages chriſtians were conſidered as jews, and deſpiſed or oppreſſed in common with them; they rendering themſelves liable to many of the reproaches of the jews, pride, ſuperſtition, and antipathy to other nations. Afterwards, when the chriſtians themſelves became oppreſſors of the jews, they almoſt every where gave them an opportunity of engroſſing the internal trade of the country, particularly that in money, by their application as individuals, and the manner in which they were ſpread abroad as a people; ſo that the leſs civilized nations of Europe voluntarily became the ſlaves of their uſury. The ſyſtem of exchange was not invented by them, it is true, but they ſoon brought it to perfection; their inſecurity in mohammedan and chriſtian countries rendering it indiſpenſable to them. Thus this widely diffuſed republic of cunning uſurers unqueſtionably reſtrained many nations of Europe for a long time from exerciſing their own induſtry in trade; for theſe thought themſelves above a jewiſh occupation, and were as little inclined to learn this intelligent and refined ſpecies of induſtry from the ſervile treaſurers of the holy roman world, as the ſpartans to be taught agriculture by their helotes. Should any one collect a hiſtory of the jews from all the countries, into which they have been diſperſed, he would exhibit a picture of mankind, equally remarkable in a natural and political view: for no people upon Earth have been ſpread abroad like theſe; no people upon Earth have

remained ſo diſtinguiſhable and active in all climates.

Let no one, however, from this, ſuperſtitiouſly infer a revolution, at ſome period or other to be wrought by theſe people on all the nations of the Earth. All that was intended to be wrought has probably been accompliſhed; and neither in the people themſelves, nor in hiſtorical analogy, can we diſcover the leaſt foundation of any other. The continuance of the jews is as naturally to be explained, as that of the bramins, parſees, or gipſies.

No one, in the mean time, will deny to a people, that has been ſuch an active inſtrument in the hand of Fate, thoſe great qualities, which are conſpicuous in it's whole hiſtory. Ingenious, adroit, and laborious, the jews have always born themſelves up under the ſevereſt oppreſſion from other nations; as for more than forty years in the deſerts of Arabia. They have not wanted warlike courage alſo; as the times of David and the Maccabees ſhow, and ſtill more the laſt and moſt dreadful downfal of their ſtate. In their own country they were once a laborious, induſtrious people; who, like the japaneſe, contrived by means of artificial terraces, to cultivate their naked mountains to the ſummit, and raiſed ſupport for an incredible number of inhabitants on a narrow ſpace, which was never the firſt in the World for fertility. In the arts, it is true, the jews were always inexpert, though their country was ſituate between Egypt and Phenicia; for even Solomon was obliged to employ foreign workmen in the conſtruction of his temple.

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In like manner, though they poſſeſſed for ſome time the ports of the Red Sea, and dwelt ſo near the ſhores of the Mediterranean, they never became a ſeafaring people, in a ſituation ſo favourable for engroſſing the commerce of the World, and with a population their country could ſcarcely ſupport. Like the egyptians they dreaded the ſea, and always choſe rather to live among other nations: a feature of the national character, which Moſes powerfully exerted himſelf to eradicate. In ſhort, they were a people ſpoiled in their education, becauſe they never arrived at a maturity of political cultivation on their own ſoil, and conſequently not to any true ſentiment of liberty and honour. In ſcience, their moſt eminent men have diſplayed more ſervile punctuality and order, than productive freedom of mind; and their ſituation has almoſt ever denied them the virtues of a patriot. The people of God, whoſe country was once given them by Heaven itſelf, have been for thouſands of years, nay almoſt from their beginning, paraſitical plants on the trunks of other nations; a race of cunning brokers, almoſt throughout the whole World; who, in ſpite of all oppreſſion, have never been inſpired with an ardent paſſion for their own honour, for a habitation, for a country, of their own.

CHAPTER IV.

Phenicia and Carthage.

THE phenicians have rendered the World ſervice in a very different manner. They invented glaſs, one of the nobleſt implements in the hands of man; and the accidental occaſion of it's invention at the mouth of the river Belus is recorded in hiſtory. Dwelling on the ſeacoaſt, they were addicted to navigation from time immemorial; for Semiramis procured her fleet to be built by the phenicians. From ſmall veſſels they gradually roſe to ſhips of conſiderable burden: they learned to ſteer their courſe by the ſtars, particularly by the Greater Bear: and at length, being attacked, they were obliged to learn the art of naval war. They ſailed all over the Mediterranean, as far as the ſtrait of Gibraltar; they viſited Britain with their ſhips; and it is probable, that from the Red Sea they more than once circumnavigated Africa. This they did, not in the character of conquerors, but in that of merchants, and founders of colonies. Lands, which the ſea had divided, they connected together by traffic, by language, and by the productions of art; and they ingeniouſly deviſed every thing, by which this traffic could be promoted. They learned the art of arithmetic, to ſtamp metals, and to form them into various utenſils and ornaments. They diſcovered the purple die, manufactured fine ſidonian linen, procured tin and lead from Britain, ſilver from Spain,

Spain, amber from the Baltic, and gold from Africa, for which they bartered aſiatic productions. Thus the whole of the Mediterranean formed a part of their kingdom, their colonies were planted up and down it's coaſts, and Tarteſſus in Spain was the celebrated emporium of their commerce between three quarters of the Globe. However extenſive or confined the knowledge they may have imparted to europeans, the gift of letters, which the greeks acquired from them, was at leaſt equal in value to every thing beſides.

But how came this people thus meritoriouſly to diſtinguiſh itſelf in the arts? Was it perchance a fortunate race of the primeval world, advantageouſly endowed by Nature in mental and corporal faculties? By no means. According to all the accounts we have of the phenicians, they were dwellers in caves, deſpiſed, and perhaps driven from their homes, the troglodytes or gipſies of this country. We firſt find them on the ſhores of the Red Sea, the barren ſoil of which probably afforded them but meagre nutriment: and when they had migrated to the coaſt of the Mediterranean, they long retained their barbarous manners, their inhuman religion, and even their habitations among the rocks of Canaan. Every one knows the deſcription given of the ancient inhabitants of Canaan; and that it is not exaggerated, appears as well from the relics of barbarous ſuperſtition, which for a long time remained even in Carthage itſelf, as from the ſimilar picture of the arabian troglodytes in Job *. The manners of the phenician

* Job xxx, 3—8.

ſeamen, too, were not eſteemed by foreign nations: they were pilfering, piratical, ſenſual, and treacherous *; ſo that punic faith and honeſty became a proverbial ſtigma.

Neceſſity, and circumſtances, are for the moſt part the inſtruments, that make men every thing. In the deſerts near the Red Sea, where the phenicians lived partly it may be preſumed on fiſh, hunger introduced them to an acquaintance with the watery element; ſo that, when they reached the ſhores of the Mediterranean, they were already prepared to launch out on a more extenſive ſea. What has formed the dutch, what moſt other ſeafaring nations? Neceſſity, ſituation, and accident †. All the nations of the race of Shem, believing they had an excluſive claim to the whole of Aſia, hated and deſpiſed the phenicians. Thus the deſcendants of Ham, as intruding foreigners, were confined to the ſea and it's ſterile ſhores. Now that the phenicians ſhould find the Mediterranean abounding with ports and iſlands, ſo that they gradually proceeded from land to land, from coaſt to coaſt, and at length beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and were enabled to gather ſuch a rich harveſt by their trade with the uncultivated nations of Europe, aroſe from

* See the account which Eumæus gives of the phenicians, Odyſſ. xv, 414, &c. F.

† Eichhorn has ſhown this in the caſe of Angria's people alſo: ſee *Geſchichte des Oſtindiſchen Handels*, 'History of the Eaſt Indian Trade,' p. 15, 16. Poverty and oppreſſion have been commonly the cauſes, that produced moſt commercial nations, as the venetians, the malays, and others, teſtify.

the circumſtances of the caſe, from the fortunate ſituation created for them by Nature herſelf. As in the primeval period the baſin of the Mediterranean ſea was ſcooped out between the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Appennines, and Atlas, and it's iſlands and points of land gradually roſe to view, forming harbours and habitable lands, the way to the civilization of Europe was pointed out by eternal deſtiny. Had the three quarters of our hemiſphere been united in one, Europe would now probably have been as little civilized as Tatary, or the interiour of Africa: at leaſt it would have been much more ſlowly civilized, and in a different way. To the Mediterranean alone our Earth is indebted for a Phenicia and a Greece, an Etruria and a Rome, a Spain and a Carthage; and through the former four of theſe did Europe attain the degree of civilization it now enjoys.

The ſituation of Phenicia on the land ſide was equally happy. Behind it lay the whole of the fine country of Aſia, with it's wares and inventions, with an inland trade long before eſtabliſhed. Accordingly it enjoyed the advantages not only of foreign induſtry, but of the riches, with which Nature had endowed this quarter of the Globe, and the long labours of antiquity. The people of Europe gave the name of phenician to letters, which the phenicians brought into Europe, but of which it is probable they were not the inventors. So it is to be preſumed the egyptians, babylonians, and hindoos, purſued the art of weaving before the ſidonians; as it is a wellknown mode of ſpeaking, both

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in ancient and modern times, to name wares not from the place where they are manufactured, but from the place that trades in them. The ſkill of the phenicians in architecture may be known from Solomon's temple; which certainly was not to be compared with any one in Egypt, as in it two wretched columns were looked upon as wonders. Their only architectural remains are thoſe vaſt caverns in Phenicia and Canaan, which evince both their troglodytic taſte and deſcent. The people, of egyptian race, undoubtedly rejoiced, to find in this region mountains, in which they could form their habitations and graves, ſtorehouſes and temples. The caves ſtill remain; but their contents have vaniſhed. The archives and collections of books, alſo, which the phenicians poſſeſſed in the times of their ſplendour, are all deſtroyed; and the greeks, by whom their hiſtory was written, no longer exiſt.

Now if we compare theſe induſtrious, flouriſhing commercial towns, with the conquering ſtates on the Euphrates, the Tigris, and mount Caucaſus, no one will heſitate, to which to give the preference, in reſpect to the hiſtory of mankind. The conquerors conquered for themſelves: the commercial nations ſerved themſelves and others. They rendered the wealth, induſtry, and ſcience of a certain part of the World common to all; and thus could not avoid promoting humanity, perhaps without the deſign. No conqueror, therefore, diſturbs the courſe of nature ſo much, as he who deſtroys flouriſhing commercial towns: for the ruin of theſe generally

generally occaſions the decline of the induſtry and manufactures of whole countries and regions, unleſs ſome neighbouring place quickly ſucceed them. In this the coaſt of Phenicia was happy: it's ſituation renders it indiſpenſable to the trade of Aſia. When Nebuchadnezzar depreſſed Sidon, Tyre ſprang up: when the macedonian conqueror deſtroyed Tyre, Alexandria flouriſhed: but commerce never completely deſerted this region. Carthage, too, was benefitted by the deſtruction of the ancient wealthy Tyre, but not with conſequences ſo important to Europe, as thoſe of the more early phenician commerce; for the time was gone by.

The internal conſtitution of the phenicians has been generally conſidered as the firſt tranſition from the monarchies of Aſia to a ſort of republic, which commerce requires. The deſpotic power of the kings in their ſtates was weakened, ſo that they never attempted conqueſts. Tyre was a long time ruled by ſuffetes; and this form of government obtained a more firm eſtabliſhment in Carthage: thus theſe two ſtates are the firſt precedents of great commercial republics in hiſtory, and their colonies are the firſt examples of a more uſeful and refined dominion, than thoſe which a Nebuchadnezzar and a Cambyſes eſtabliſhed. This was a great ſtep in the civilization of mankind. Thus commerce awakened induſtry: the ſea repreſſed or ſet bounds to the conqueror, and gradually changed him, againſt his will, from a ſubjugating robber to a peaceful negotiator. Mutual wants, and particularly the more feeble power of a ſtranger on a diſtant ſhore,

gave

gave birth to the firſt more equitable intercourſe between nations. How do the ancient phenicians put to ſhame the europeans for their ſenſeleſs conduct, when, in ſo much later ages, and with ſo much more ſkill in the arts, they diſcovered the two Indies! Theſe made ſlaves, preached the croſs, and exterminated the natives: thoſe, in the proper ſenſe of the term, conquered nothing: they planted colonies, they built towns, and rouſed the induſtry of the nations, which, after all the deceptions of the phenicians, learned at length to know and profit by their own treaſures. Will any part of the Globe be indebted to Europe rich in arts, ſo much as Greece was indebted to the leſs cultivated phenicians?

The influence of Carthage on the nations of Europe was far from being ſo important as that of Phenicia: owing aſſuredly to the change of time, ſituation, and the ſtate of things. As a colony from Tyre, it was not without difficulty, that it eſtabliſhed itſelf on the diſtant ſhore of Africa: and being obliged to fight for the extenſion of it's boundary, it gradually imbibed a luſt of conqueſt. Hence it acquired a more brilliant and artfully contrived form than the parent ſtate; but more advantageous in it's conſequences, neither to the republic, nor to mankind. Carthage was a city, not a nation: ſo that it was incapable of diffuſing civilization and a ſpirit of patriotiſm over any extent of country. The territory it acquired in Africa, and in which, at the commencement of the third punic war, it reckoned, according to Strabo, three hundred

dred towns, contained ſubjects, over whom the conquerors ruled as lords, but no fellow-citizens of the ſovereign ſtate. This indeed the nearly uncivilized africans never ſtrove to become: for even in their wars againſt Carthage they appeared either as revolted ſlaves, or hired ſoldiers. Thus the interiour parts of Africa derived very little civilization from Carthage, as the object of this city, a few of the families of which had extended their ſway beyond it's walls, was not to propagate humanity, but to collect treaſure. The crude ſuperſtition, that prevailed among the carthaginians to the lateſt times; the barbarous manner, in which they tyrannically put to death their unſucceſsful generals, even when no blame could be imputed to them; and their general conduct in foreign countries; evince the cruelty and avarice of this ariſtocratic ſtate, which ſought nothing but gain, and african ſervility.

The ſituation and conſtitution of Carthage are ſufficient to account for this barbarity. Inſtead of commercial ſettlements after the phenician manner, which the carthaginians deemed too inſecure, they erected fortreſſes; and at a time when the ſtate of the World was ſo much improved, they attempted to ſecure the ſovereignty of the coaſts, as if every place were Africa. But being obliged to employ for this purpoſe mercenaries, or enſlaved barbarians; and ſuch a proceeding involving them in quarrels with people, who for the moſt part refuſed to be treated any longer as ſavages; theſe quarrels could produce nothing but bloodſhed, and bitter enmity. The fruitful Sicily, Syracuſe in particular,

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was often aſſaulted by them: and at firſt very unjuſtly, as it was merely in conſequence of a treaty with Xerxes. They went againſt a grecian people as the barbarous auxiliaries of a barbarian, and ſhowed themſelves worthy of the part. Selinus, Himera, and Agrigentum, Saguntum in Spain, and many rich provinces in Italy, were plundered or deſtroyed by them. Nay more blood was ſhed on the beautiful plains of Sicily alone, than all the trade of Carthage could compenſate. Much as Ariſtotle praiſes the conſtitution of this republic in a political view, as little merit has it in the hiſtory of the human race: for in it a few families of the city, conſiſting of barbarous wealthy merchants, employed the arms of mercenaries to contend for the monopoly of their gain, and appropriate to themſelves the ſovereignty of every country, by which this gain could be promoted. Such a ſyſtem has in it nothing amiable: and therefore, however unjuſt moſt of the wars of the romans againſt Carthage were, and much as the names of Aſdrubal, Hamilcar, and Hannibal, demand our reverence, we ſhall hardly become carthaginians, when we contemplate the internal ſtate of the mercantile republic, which theſe heroes ſerved. From it they experienced ſufficient trouble, and were frequently rewarded with the blackeſt ingratitude: for his country would even have delivered up Hannibal himſelf to the romans, to ſave a few pounds weight of gold, had he not withdrawn himſelf by flight from this punic reward for his ſervices.

Far be it from me, to rob one noble carthagi-

nian of the leaſt of his merits: for even Carthage, though erected on the loweſt ground of avaricious conqueſt, has produced great minds, and nouriſhed a multitude of arts. Of warriours the family of Barcha in particular will be immortal; the flame of whoſe ambition mounted the higher, the more the jealouſy of Hanno ſtrove to quench it. But for the moſt part even in the heroic ſpirit of the carthaginians a certain harſhneſs is obſervable; whence a Gelo, a Timoleon, a Scipio, appear, on compariſon, as free men compared to ſlaves. Thus barbarous was the heroiſm of thoſe brothers, who ſuffered themſelves to be buried alive, to preſerve an unjuſt boundary to their country: and in more urgent caſes, as when Carthage itſelf was threatened, their valour in general aſſumed the appearance of ſavage deſperation. Yet it is not to be denied, that Hannibal in particular was the tutor of it's hereditary enemies, the romans, who from him learned to conquer the World, in the more refined parts of the art of war. In like manner all the arts, that were in any way ſubſervient to commerce, naval architecture, maritime war, or the acquiſition of wealth, flouriſhed in Carthage: though the carthaginians themſelves were ſoon conquered at ſea by the romans. In the fertile ſoil of Africa agriculture was of all arts that, which tended moſt to promote their trade; and into this, as a rich ſource of gain, the carthaginians introduced many improvements. But unfortunately the barbarous ſtate of the romans occaſioned the deſtruction of all the books of the carthaginians, as well as of their town: we know nothing of the

the nation, but from it's enemies, and a few ruins, which ſcarcely enable us to gueſs at the ſeat of the anciently famed miſtreſs of the ſea. It is to be lamented, that the principal figure Carthage makes in hiſtory is on occaſion of her conteſts with Rome: this wolf, that was afterwards to ravage the World, was firſt to exerciſe her powers againſt an african jackal, till he fell beneath her jaws.

CHAPTER V.

The Egyptians.

We now come to a country, which, on account of it's antiquity, it's arts, and it's political inſtitutions, ſtands like an enigma of the primeval World, and has copiouſly exerciſed the conjectural ſkill of the inquirer. This is Egypt. The moſt authentic information we have reſpecting it is derived from it's antiquities; thoſe vaſt pyramids, obeliſks, and catacombs; thoſe ruins of canals, cities, columns, and temples; which, with their hieroglyphics, are ſtill the aſtoniſhment of travellers, as they were the wonder of the ancient World. What an immenſe population, what arts and government, but more eſpecially what a ſingular way of thinking, muſt have been requiſite, to excavate theſe rocks, or pile them upon one another; not only to delineate and carve ſtatues of animals, but to inter them as ſacred; to form a wilderneſs of rocks as an abode for the dead; and to eternize in ſtone the ſpirit of an egyptian prieſthood in ſuch multifarious ways! There

ſtand,

ſtand, there lie, all thoſe relics, which, like a ſacred ſphinx, like a grand problem, demand an explanation.

Part of theſe works, of obvious utility, or indiſpenſable to the country, explain themſelves. Such are the aſtoniſhing canals, dikes, and catacombs. The canals ſerved to convey the Nile to the remoteſt parts of Egypt, which now, from their ruin, are become ſilent deſerts. The dikes enabled cities to eſtabliſh themſelves in the fertile valley, which the Nile overflows, and which, truly the heart of Egypt, feeds the whole land. The catacombs, too, ſetting aſide the religious notions which the egyptians connected with them, unqueſtionably contributed to the healthineſs of the air, and prevented thoſe diſeaſes, which are the common peſts of hot and humid climates. But to what purpoſe the enormity of theſe tombs? whence, and why, the labyrinth, the obeliſks, the pyramids? whence the marvellous taſte, on which the ſphinxes and coloſſuſes have ſo laboriouſly conferred immortality? Are the egyptians the primitive nation, ſprung from the mud of the Nile, to branch over all the World? or, if they be not indigenous, what circumſtances, what motives, have rendered them ſo totally different from all the people that dwell around?

In my opinion the natural hiſtory of the country is ſufficient to ſhow, that the egyptians are no primitive indigenous nation: for not only ancient tradition, but every rational geogony expreſsly ſays, that Upper Egypt was the earlier peopled, and that the lower country was in reality gained from the

mud of the Nile by the ſkilful induſtry of man. Ancient Egypt, therefore, was on the mountains of the Thebaid; where too was the reſidence of it's ancient kings: for had the land been peopled by the way of Suez, it is inconceivable, why the firſt kings of Egypt ſhould have choſen the barren Thebaid for their abode. If, on the other hand, we follow the population of Egypt, as it lies before our eyes; in it we ſhall likewiſe find the cauſe, why it's inhabitants became ſuch a ſingular and diſtinguiſhed people, even from their cultivation. They were no amiable circaſſians, but, in all probability, a people of the ſouth of Aſia, who came weſtwards acroſs the Red-Sea, or perhaps farther off, and gradually ſpread from Ethiopia over Upper Egypt. The land here being bounded as it were by the inundations and marſhes of the Nile, is it to be wondered, that they began to conſtruct their habitations as troglodytes in the rocks, and afterwards gradually gained the whole of Egypt by their induſtry, improving themſelves as they improved the land? The account Diodorus gives of their ſouthern deſcent, though intermingled with various fables of his Ethiopia, is not only probable in the higheſt degree, but the ſole key to an explanation of this people, and it's ſingular agreement with ſome diſtant nations in the eaſt of Aſia.

As I could purſue this hypotheſis here but very imperfectly, it muſt be deferred to another place, availing myſelf only of ſome of it's evident conſequences, with regard to the figure made by this people in the hiſtory of mankind. The egyptians were a quiet,

a quiet, induſtrious, wellmeaning people, as their political conſtitution, their arts, and their religion, collectively demonſtrate. No temple, no column of Egypt, has a gay, airy, grecian appearance: of this deſign of art they had no idea, it never was their aim. The mummies ſhow, that the figure of the egyptians was by no means beautiful; and as the human form appeared to them, ſuch would neceſſarily be their imitations of it. Wrapped up in their own land, as in their own religion and conſtitution, they had an averſion to foreigners: and as, conformably to their character, fidelity and preciſion were their principal objects in the imitative arts; as their ſkill was altogether mechanical, and indeed in it's application to religious purpoſes was confined to a particular tribe, while at the ſame time it turned chiefly on religious conceptions; no deviations toward ideal beauty, which without a natural prototype is a mere phantom *, were in the leaſt to be expected in this country †. In recompenſe they turned their attention ſo much the more to ſolidity, durability, and gigantic magnitude; or to finiſhing with the utmoſt induſtry of art. In that rocky land, their ideas of temples were taken from vaſt caverns: hence in their architecture they were fond of majeſtic immenſity. Their mummies gave the hint of their ſtatues: whence their legs were natu-

* Of this in another place.

† That African forms may coaleſce with Ideal Beauty, is proved by every head of Meduſa; but chiefly that of the palace Rondanini at Rome. F.

rally joined, and their arms cloſed to the body; a poſture of itſelf tending to durability. To ſupport cavities, and ſeparate tombs, pillars were formed: and as the egyptians derived their architecture from the vaults of rocks, and underſtood not our mode of erecting arches, the pillar, frequently gigantic, was indiſpenſable. The deſerts, by which they were ſurrounded, the regions of the dead, which from religious notions floated in their minds, alſo moulded their ſtatues to mummies, wherein not action, but eternal reſt, was the character, on which their art fixed.

The pyramids and obeliſks of the egyptians appear to me leſs calculated to excite wonder. Pyramids have been erected on graves in all parts of the World, even in Otaheite; not ſo much as emblems of the immortality of the ſoul, as tokens of a laſting remembrance after death. Their origin on theſe graves may be traced to thoſe rude heaps of ſtone, which were formed as memorials by ſeveral nations in very remote antiquity. The rude heap of ſtones aſſumed the form of a pyramid, that it might acquire greater ſtability. When art applied itſelf to this general cuſtom, as no occaſion of a memorial is ſo dear to the human mind as the interment of the revered dead, the heap of ſtones, at firſt perhaps deſigned to protect the corpſe from the fangs of wild beaſts, was naturally transformed into a pyramid, or column, erected with more or leſs ſkill. Now that the egyptians ſhould excel other nations in theſe ſtructures, aroſe from the ſame cauſe as the durable architecture of their temples and catacombs:

namely, they poſſeſſed ſtone ſufficient for theſe monuments, as the greater part of Egypt is properly one rock; and they had hands enough to build them, as, in their fertile and populous country, the Nile manures the ſoil, and agriculture demands little labour. Beſides, the ancient egyptians lived with great temperance: thouſands of men, who laboured for centuries like ſlaves at theſe memorials, were ſo eaſily maintained, that it depended merely on the will of a king, to erect inconceivable maſſes of this kind. The lives of individuals were eſtimated differently then, when their names were reckoned only in tribes and diſtricts, than they are now. The uſeleſs labour of numbers was then more eaſily ſacrificed to the will of a monarch, who was deſirous of ſecuring to himſelf immortality by ſuch a heap of ſtones, and retaining the departed ſoul in an embalmed corpſe, conformably to his religious notions; till this, like many other uſeleſs arts, became in time an object of emulation. One king imitated another, or ſought to exceed him; while the eaſy people conſumed their days in the ſtructure of theſe monuments. Thus probably aroſe the pyramids and obeliſks of Egypt: they were built only in the remoteſt times; for later ages, and nations, employed in more uſeful works, ceaſe to erect pyramids. Thus, far from being tokens of the happineſs and enlightened minds of the ancient egyptians, the pyramids are incontrovertible teſtimonies of the ſuperſtition and thoughtleſſneſs, both of the poor by whom they were built, and of the ambitious by whom their erection was commanded. Secrets are

in vain ſought within the pyramids, or concealed wiſdom from the obeliſks: for if the hieroglyphics of the latter could be deciphered, what is it poſſible we ſhould read in them, except a chronicle of forgotten events, or a ſymbolic apotheoſis of their builders? And then, what are theſe maſſes to a mountain of Nature's erection?

Beſides, inſtead of inferring profound wiſdom from the hieroglyphics of the egyptians, they rather demonſtrate the reverſe. Hieroglyphics are the firſt rude infantile eſſay of the human mind, when ſeeking characters to denote it's thoughts: the rudeſt ſavages of America had hieroglyphics ſufficient to anſwer their occaſions; for could not the mexicans convey information of the moſt unheard of events, of the arrival of the ſpaniards for inſtance, in hieroglyphics? But what poverty of ideas, what a ſtagnation of the mind, do the egyptians diſplay, in ſo long retaining this imperfect mode of writing, and continuing to paint it for centuries with immenſe trouble on rocks and walls! How confined muſt have been the knowledge of a nation, and of it's numerous learned order, who could content themſelves for ſome thouſands of years with theſe birds and ſtrokes! For their ſecond Hermes, who invented letters, lived very late; and he was no egyptian. The alphabetical writing on the mummies conſiſts wholly of the foreign phenician letters, intermingled with hieroglyphical characters, and therefore in all probability learned from the phenician traders. The chineſe themſelves have advanced farther than the egyptians, and from ſimilar hieroglyphics have invented

invented actual notations of thought, to which theſe, as it appears, never attained. Is it to be wondered, then, that a nation ſo poor in writing, and yet not without capacity, ſhould have been eminent in mechanic arts? Their road to ſcience was obſtructed by hieroglyphics, and thus their attention was the more turned towards objects of ſenſe. The fertile valley of the Nile rendered their agriculture eaſy: they learned to meaſure and calculate thoſe periodical inundations, on which their welfare depended: A people, whoſe life and comforts were connected with one ſingle natural change, which, annually recurring, formed an eternal national calendar, muſt ultimately become expert in the meaſure of the year and the ſeaſons.

Thus all the acquaintance with nature and the heavens, for which this ancient people is famed, was the natural offspring of the country and climate. Encloſed between mountains, ſeas, and deſerts; in a narrow fertile valley, where every thing depended on one natural phenomenon, and every thing recalled that phenomenon to the mind; where the ſeaſons of the year, and the produce of the harveſt, winds and diſeaſes, inſects and birds, were governed by one and the ſame revolution, the overflowing of the Nile: could the grave egyptian, and his numerous order of idle prieſts, fail ultimately to collect a ſort of hiſtory of nature and the heavens? From all quarters of the World it is known, that confined ſenſual nations have the moſt copious practical knowledge of their country, though not learned from

books. The hieroglyphics of the egyptians were rather injurious than beneficial to ſcience. They converted the lively obſervation into an obſcure and dead image, which aſſuredly could not advance, but retarded the progreſs of the underſtanding. It has been much diſputed, whether the hieroglyphics concealed ſacerdotal myſteries. To me it appears, that every hieroglyphic from it's nature contained a ſecret; and a ſeries of them, preſerved excluſively by a particular body of men, muſt neceſſarily have remained a myſtery to the many, even ſuppoſing they were preſented to them at every turn. They could not be initiated into the ſtudy of them, for this was not their buſineſs; and of themſelves they could not diſcover their meaning. Hence the neceſſary want of an extenſive diffuſion of knowledge in every land, in every body of men, poſſeſſed of hieroglyphic wiſdom, as it is called, whether taught by prieſts or laymen. Every one was not capable of deciphering it's ſymbols, and what is not eaſy to be learned without a tutor muſt, from it's very nature, be kept as a myſtery. Thus every hieroglyphical ſcience of modern times is a ridiculous obſtacle to a free diffuſion of knowledge; while in ancient times hieroglyphics were no more than the moſt imperfect mode of writing. It would be abſurd, to expect a man of himſelf to learn to underſtand what might be explained in a thouſand different ways; and to ſtudy arbitrary ſymbols, as if they were neceſſarily permanent things, would be endleſs labour. Hence Egypt has always remained a child in knowledge,

becauſe

becauſe it always expreſſed it's knowledge as a child, and it's infantile ideas are probably for ever loſt to us.

Thus we can do little more than gueſs at the rank attained by the egyptians in religion and politics, while we have been able to mark that, which many other nations of high antiquity have reached, and can ſtill in ſome meaſure obſerve, what the people in the eaſt of Aſia have attained. Indeed, could it be rendered probable, that much of the knowledge of the egyptians was not eaſy to have been diſcovered in their country; but that they merely continued to exerciſe it after received rules and premiſes, and adapted it to their own land; their infant ſtate in all theſe ſciences would be much more obvious. Hence probably their long regiſter of kings, and of the ages of the World: hence their ambiguous hiſtories of Oſiris, Iſis, Horus, Typhon, and the reſt: hence a great number of their religious fables. Their principal religious notions were common to ſeveral people of Upper Aſia; only they were here clothed in hieroglyphics, adapted to the natural hiſtory of the country, and the character of the people. The leading features of their political conſtitution were familiar to other nations in a ſimilar ſtage of cultivation; but here they were more finiſhed, and employed in their own manner, by a people encloſed in the beautiful valley of the Nile *. Egypt would not eaſily have attained the

* The conjectures on this ſubject muſt be deferred to another place.

high

high reputation it enjoys for wiſdom, but for it's leſs remote ſituation, the ruins of it's antiquities, and above all the tales of the greeks.

This very ſituation likewiſe ſhows the rank it occupies among the nations. Few have ſprung from it, or been civilized by it: of the former I know only the phenicians; of the latter, the jews and greeks. How far it's influence has extended into the interiour of Africa we are ignorant. Poor egyptians! how are they changed! Once laborious, and endued with patient induſtry, a thouſand years of deſpair have reduced them to indolence and wretchedneſs. At the nod of a pharaoh, they ſpun and wove, dug in the mountains and raiſed ſtones, purſued the arts and cultivated the land. Patiently they ſuffered themſelves to be ſhut up from the reſt of the World, and divided into bands for the purpoſe of labour; they were prolific, and brought up their children with toil; ſhunned foreigners, and enjoyed their own ſecluded country. When once their land was laid open, or rather when Cambyſes ſhowed the way to it, it was for ages a prey to nation after nation. Perſians and greeks, romans, byzantines, arabs, fatimites, curdes, mamalukes, and turks; annoyed it one after the other; and it's fine climate ſtill remains a melancholy theatre of arabian depredations and turkiſh barbarity *.

* The mind of every reader will add a note to this period. F.

CHAPTER VI.

Farther Hints toward a Philoſophy of the Hiſtory of Man.

HAVING now gone over a conſiderable extent of human events and inſtitutions, from the Euphrates to the Nile, from Perſepolis to Carthage, let us ſit down, and take a retroſpective view of our journey.

What is the principal law, that we have obſerved in all the great occurrences of hiſtory? In my opinion it is this: *that every where on our Earth whatever could be has been, according to the ſituation and wants of the place, the circumſtances and occaſions of the times, and the native or generated character of the people.* Admit active human powers, in a determinate relation to the age, and to their place on the Earth, and all the viciſſitudes in the hiſtory of man will enſue. Here kingdoms and ſtates cryſtallize into ſhape: there they diſſolve, and aſſume other forms. Here from a wandering horde riſes a Babylon: there from the ſtraitened inhabitants of a coaſt ſprings up a Tyre: here, in Africa, an Egypt is formed: there, in the deſerts of Arabia, a jewiſh ſtate: and all theſe in one part of the World, all in the neighbourhood of each other. Time, place, and national character alone, in ſhort the general cooperation of active powers in their moſt determinate individuality, govern all the events that happen among mankind, as well as all the occurrences

occurrences in nature. Let us place this predominant law of the creation in a ſuitable light.

1. *Active human powers are the ſprings of human hiſtory:* and as man originates from and in one race, his figure, education, and mode of thinking, are thus genetic. Hence that ſtriking national character, which, deeply imprinted on the moſt ancient people, is unequivocally diſplayed in all their operations on the Earth. As a mineral water derives it's component parts, it's operative powers, and it's flavour, from the ſoil through which it flows; ſo the ancient character of nations aroſe from the family features, the climate, the way of life and education, the early actions and employments, that were peculiar to them. The manners of the fathers took deep root, and became the internal prototype of the race. The mode of thinking of the jews, which is beſt known to us from their writings and actions, may ſerve as an example: in the land of their fathers, and in the midſt of other nations, they remain as they were; and even when mixed with other people they may be diſtinguiſhed for ſome generations downward. It was, and it is the ſame with all the nations of antiquity, egyptians, chineſe, arabs, hindoos, &c. The more ſecluded they lived, nay frequently the more they were oppreſſed, the more their character was confirmed: ſo that, if every one of theſe nations had remained in it's place, the Earth might have been conſidered as a garden, where in one ſpot one human national plant, in another, another, bloomed in it's proper figure and nature; where in this ſpot one ſpecies of animal, in that, another,

another, purſued it's courſe, according to it's inſtincts and character.

But as men are not firmly rooted plants, the calamities of famine, earthquakes, war, and the like, muſt in time remove them from their place to ſome other more or leſs different. And though they might adhere to the manners of their forefathers with an obſtinacy almoſt equal to the inſtinct of the brute, and even apply to their new mountains, rivers, towns, and eſtabliſhments, the names of their primitive land; it would be impoſſible for them, to remain eternally the ſame in every reſpect, under any conſiderable alteration of ſoil and climate. Here the tranſplanted people would conſtruct a waſp's neſt, or anthill, after their own faſhion. The ſtyle would be a compound ariſing from the ideas imbibed in their original country, and thoſe inſpired by the new: and this may commonly be called the youthful bloom of the nation. Thus did the phenicians, when they retired from the Red-Sea to the ſhores of the Mediterranean: thus Moſes endeavoured to form the iſraelites: and ſo has it been with ſeveral aſiatic nations; for almoſt every people upon Earth has migrated at leaſt once, ſooner or later, to a greater diſtance, or a leſs. It may readily be ſuppoſed, that in this much depended on the time when the migration took place, the circumſtances by which it was occaſioned, the length of the way, the previous ſtate of civilization of the people, the reception they met with in their new country, and the like. Thus even in unmixed nations the computations of hiſtory are ſo perplexed, from geographical

phical and political cauſes, that it requires a mind wholly free from hypotheſis to trace the clew. This clew is moſt eaſily loſt by one, with whom a particular race of the people is a favourite, and who deſpiſes every thing, in which this race has no concern. The hiſtorian of mankind muſt ſee with eyes as impartial as thoſe of the creator of the human race, or the genius of the Earth, and judge altogether uninfluenced by the paſſions. To the naturaliſt, who would acquire a juſt knowledge and arrangement of all his claſſes, the roſe and the thiſtle, the polecat, the ſloth, and the elephant, are equally dear; he examines that moſt, from which moſt is to be learned. Now Nature has given the whole Earth to mankind, her children; and allowed every thing, that place, time, and power would permit, to ſpring up thereon. Every thing that can exiſt, exiſts; every thing that is poſſible to be produced, will be produced; if not to day, yet to morrow. Nature's year is long: the bloſſoms of her plants are as various as the plants themſelves, and the elements by which they are nouriſhed. In Hindoſtan, Egypt, and China, in Canaan, Greece, Rome, and Carthage, took place, what would have occurred no where elſe, and at no other period. The law of neceſſity and convenience, compoſed of power, time, and place, every where produces different fruits.

2. If the complexion of a kingdom thus depend principally on *the time and place in which it aroſe, the parts that compoſed it, and the external circumſtances by which it was ſurrounded*, we perceive the chief part

part of it's fate ſpring alſo from theſe. A monarchy framed by wandering tribes, whoſe political ſyſtem is a continuation of their former mode of life, will ſcarcely be of long duration: it ravages, and ſubjugates, till at laſt itſelf is deſtroyed: the capture of the metropolis, or frequently the death of a king alone, is ſufficient to drop the curtain on the predatory ſcene. Thus it was with Babylon and Nineveh, with Ecbatana and Perſepolis, and ſo it is with Perſia ſtill. The empire of the great moguls in Hindoſtan is nearly at an end: and that of the turks will not be laſting, if they continue chaldeans, that is foreign conquerors, and do not eſtabliſh their government on a more moral foundation. Though the tree lift it's head to the ſkies, and overſhadow whole quarters of the Globe, if it be not rooted in the earth, a ſingle blaſt of wind may overturn it. It may fall through the undermining of a treacherous ſlave, or by the axe of a daring ſatrap. Both the ancient and modern hiſtories of Aſia are filled with theſe revolutions; and thus the philoſophy of ſtates finds little to learn in them. Deſpots are hurled from the throne, and deſpots exalted to it again: the kingdom is annexed to the perſon of the monarch, to his tent, to his crown: he who has theſe in his power is the new father of the people, that is the leader of an overbearing band of robbers. A Nebuchadnezzar was terrible to the whole of Hither Aſia, and under his ſecond ſucceſſor his unſtable throne lay proſtrate in the duſt. Three victories of an Alexander completely put an end to the vaſt perſian monarchy.

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It is not ſo with ſtates, which, ſpringing up from a root, reſt on themſelves: they may be ſubdued, but the nation remains. Thus it is with China: we well know how much labour it coſt it's conquerors, to introduce there a ſimple cuſtom, the mungal mode of cutting the hair. Thus it is with the bramins and jews, whoſe ceremonial ſyſtems will eternally ſeparate them from all the nations upon Earth. Thus Egypt long withſtood any intermixture with other nations: and how difficult was it to extirpate the phenicians, merely becauſe they were a people rooted in this ſpot! Had Cyrus ſucceeded in founding an empire like thoſe of Yao, Criſhna, and Moſes, it would ſtill ſurvive, though mutilated, in all it's members.

Hence we may infer the reaſon, why ancient political conſtitutions laid ſo much ſtreſs on the formation of manners by education; as their internal ſtrength depended wholly on this ſpring. Modern kingdoms are built on money, or mechanical politics; the ancient, on the general way of thinking of a nation from it's infancy: and as nothing has a more efficacious influence upon children than religion, moſt of the ancient ſtates, particularly thoſe of Aſia, were more or leſs theocratic. I know the averſion in which this name is held, as to it all the evil, that has at any time oppreſſed mankind, is in great meaſure aſcribed. It's abuſes I will by no means undertake to defend: but at the ſame time it is true, that this form of government is not only adapted to the infancy of the human race, but neceſſary to it; otherwiſe, aſſuredly, it would neither have

have extended ſo far, nor have maintained itſelf ſo long. It has prevailed from Egypt to China, nay in almoſt every country upon Earth; ſo that Greece was the firſt, which gradually ſeparated religion from it's legiſlation. And as every religion is more efficacious in a political view, the more it's objects, it's gods and heroes, and their various actions, are indigenous; we find every firmly rooted ancient nation has appropriated it's coſmogony and mythology to the country it inhabited. The iſraelites alone diſtinguiſh themſelves from all their neighbours in this, that they aſcribe neither the creation of the World, nor that of man, to their own country. Their lawgiver was an enlightened foreigner, who never reached the land they were afterwards to poſſeſs: their anceſtors had inhabited another country: and their laws were framed out of their own territories. This afterwards contributed probably to render the jews more ſatisfied in a foreign land, than almoſt any other ancient nation. The bramin, the ſiameſe, cannot live out of his own country: and as the jew of Moſes is properly a creature of Paleſtine, out of Paleſtine there ſhould be no jew.

3. Finally, from the whole region over which we have wandered, we perceive *how tranſitory all human ſtructures are, nay how oppreſſive the beſt inſtitutions become in the courſe of a few generations.* The plant bloſſoms, and fades: your fathers have died, and mouldered into duſt: your temple is fallen: your tabernacle, the tables of your law, are no more: language itſelf, that bond of mankind, becomes anti-

quated: and ſhall a political conſtitution, ſhall a ſyſtem of government or religion, that can be erected ſolely on theſe, endure for ever? If ſo, the wings of Time muſt be enchained, and the revolving Globe hang fixed, an idle ball of ice over the abyſs. What ſhould we ſay now, were we to ſee king Solomon ſacrifice twenty two thouſand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thouſand ſheep, at a ſingle feſtival? or hear the queen of Sheba trying him with riddles at an entertainment? What ſhould we think of the wiſdom of the egyptians, when the bull Apis, the ſacred cat, and the ſacred goat, were ſhown to us in the moſt ſplendid temples? It is the ſame with the burdenſome ceremonies of the bramins, the ſuperſtitions of the parſees, the empty pretenſions of the jews, the ſenſeleſs pride of the chineſe, and every thing that reſts on antiquated human inſtitutions of three thouſand years date. The doctrines of Zoroaſter may have been a praiſeworthy attempt, to account for the evil in the World, and animate his contemporaries to all the deeds of light: but what is his theodicy now, even in the eyes of a mohammedan? The metempſychoſis of the bramins may have it's merit as a juvenile dream of the imagination, deſirous of retaining the immortal ſoul within the ſphere of obſervation, and uniting moral ſentiments with the well-meant notion: yet has it not become an abſurd religious law, with it's thouſand additions of precepts and practices? Tradition in itſelf is an excellent inſtitution of Nature, indiſpenſable to the human race: but when it fetters the thinking faculty both in politics and education,

cation, and prevents all progress of the intellect, and all the improvement, that new times and circumstances demand, it is the true narcotic of the mind, as well to nations and sects, as to individuals. Asia, the mother of all the mental illumination of our habitable Earth, has drunk deep of this pleasant poison, and handed the cup to others. Great states and sects sleep in it, as, according to the fable, saint John sleeps in his grave: he breathes softly, though he died almost two thousand years ago, and slumbering waits till his awakener shall come.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XIII.

I TAKE leave of Aſia with the regret of a traveller, obliged to quit a country, before he has acquired the knowledge of it he wiſhed. How little do we know of it! and for the moſt part of how recent times, and from what doubtful authority! Of the eaſtern part of Aſia we have but lately acquired any knowledge; and this through the means of men imbued with religious or political prejudices: while much of what we have thus acquired has been ſo embroiled by literary partiſans in Europe, that great diſtricts of it are ſtill to us a fairy-land. In Hither Aſia, and the neighbouring land of Egypt, every thing appears to us as a ruin, or a dream that is paſt: what we know from records, we have only from the mouths of the volatile greeks, who were partly too young, partly of too different a way of thinking, for the remote antiquity of theſe ſtates, and noticed only what concerned themſelves. The archives of Babylon, Phenicia, and Carthage, are no more: Egypt was in it's decline, almoſt before it's interiour was viſited by a greek; ſo that the whole is ſhrunk up to a

few

few withered leaves, containing fables of fables, fragments of hiſtory, a dream of the ancient World.

With Greece the morning breaks, and we joyfully ſail to meet it. The inhabitants of this country acquired the art of writing at an early period compared with others; and in moſt of their inſtitutions found ſprings to guide their language from poetry to proſe, as in this to hiſtory and philoſophy. Thus the Philoſophy of Hiſtory looks upon Greece as her birthplace, and in it ſpent her youth. Even the fabling Homer deſcribes the manners of ſeveral nations, as far as his knowledge extended. They who ſung the exploits of the argonauts, the echoes of whoſe ſongs remain, entered into another memorable region. When proper hiſtory ſubſequently ſeparated itſelf from poetry, Herodotus travelled over ſeveral countries, and collected with commendable infantile curioſity whatever he ſaw and heard. The later writers of hiſtory in Greece, though their own country was their only object, could not avoid ſaying many things of other countries, with which the greeks were connected: thus their canvas was gradually extended, particularly by the expeditions of Alexander. With Rome, to whom the greeks ſerved not only as guides in hiſtory, but as hiſtorians, it extended ſtill more; ſo that Diodorus of Sicily, a greek, and Trogus, a roman, ventured to form their materials into a ſort of univerſal hiſtory. Let us then rejoice, that at length we have reached a people, whoſe origin indeed is enveloped in obſcurity, whoſe early ages are uncertain, and whoſe fineſt works, both in letters and the arts, have been

for the moſt part deſtroyed by the rage of enemies, or the faſhion of the times; yet of whom we have noble monuments: monuments that ſpeak to us with a philoſophic ſpirit, the humanity of which I in vain endeavour to infuſe into my eſſay on them. I might invoke, as a poet, allſeeing Apollo, and the daughter of Memory, the omniſcient muſe: but my inſpiring muſe ſhall be impartial truth; and my Apollo, the ſpirit of inquiry.

CHAPTER I.

The Situation and Peopling of Greece.

THE triple Greece, of which we ſpeak, is a land of coaſts and bays, ſurrounded by the ſea; or rather a cluſter of iſlands. It lies in a region, where it might receive from various parts not only inhabitants, but the ſeeds of cultivation, and this ſpeedily. Thus it's ſituation, and the character of the people, which formed itſelf ſuitably to the country by early expeditions and revolutions, ſoon ſet afloat an internal circulation of ideas, and an external activity, denied by Nature to the nations of the extenſive continent. Finally, the period in which the cultivation of Greece occurred, and the degree of improvement, which not only the neighbouring people, but the human mind in general, had attained, contributed to render the greeks what they once were, what they no longer are, and what they never more will be. Let us more narrowly examine this

fine hiſtorical problem; for the ſolution of which we have nearly ſufficient data, particularly from the induſtry of learned germans.

A ſecluded nation, encloſed by mountains, far from the ſeacoaſt, and from any intercourſe with other people; that derived it's knowledge from a ſingle place, and, in proportion as this was more early received, more firmly fixed it by brazen laws; may acquire great peculiarity of character, and retain it long: but this confined peculiarity will be far from giving it that uſeful verſatility, which can be gained only by active competition with other nations. Egypt, and all the countries of Aſia, are examples of this. Had the power, which conſtructed our Earth, given it's mountains and ſeas a different form; had that great deſtiny, which eſtabliſhed the boundaries of nations, cauſed them to originate elſewhere than from the aſiatic mountains; had the eaſt of Aſia poſſeſſed an earlier commerce, and a mediterranean ſea, which it's preſent ſituation has denied; the whole current of cultivation would have been altered. It flowed weſtwards; becauſe eaſtwards it was unable to flow, or to ſpread.

If we contemplate the hiſtory of iſlands, and countries connected by ſtraits, in whatever part of the World they lie, we find, that, the more fortunate they were in their peopling, the more eaſy and diverſified the ſtream of activity, that could be ſet in motion among them, and the more advantageous the time or ſituation, in which they had to perform their part; by ſo much the more did the inhabitants of ſuch coaſts or iſlands diſtinguiſh themſelves above

thoſe of the main land. On the continent, in ſpite of all natural endowments, and acquired capacities, the ſhepherd remained a ſhepherd; the hunter, a hunter: even the huſbandman and artiſt were confined like plants to a narrow ſpot. Compare England with Germany: the engliſh are germans, and even in the lateſt times the germans have led the way for the engliſh in the greateſt things. But while England, as an iſland, early acquired a much more active univerſality of mind, it's ſituation itſelf accelerated the means of improvement, and gave them without interruption a conſiſtence unattainable by the more embarraſſed continent. A ſimilar difference is perceivable on a compariſon of the daniſh iſlands, the coaſts of Italy, France, and Spain, the Netherlands, and the North of Germany, with the interiour country of the ſlavians and ſcythians of Europe, with Ruſſia, Poland, and Hungary. Voyagers in all the ſeas have found, that on iſlands, peninſulas, or coaſts happily ſituate, an application and freedom of improvement had been generated, which could not have ſurmounted the preſſure of the uniform ancient laws of the main land *. Read the deſcriptions of the Society and Friendly iſlands: in ſpite of their diſtance from the reſt of the habitable World, they have raiſed themſelves into a ſort of Greece, even in luxury and ornamental dreſs. In

* Compare the malays, and the inhabitants of the aſiatic iſlands, with thoſe of the continent; put even Japan in competition with China; the natives of the Kuriles and Fox-iſlands, with the mungals; obſerve Juan Fernandez, Socotora, Eaſter-iſland, Byron's-iſland, the Maldives, &c.

many

many ſolitary iſlands of the wide ocean the firſt voyagers experienced a gentleneſs and courteſy, which would be ſought in vain among inland nations. Thus every where we perceive the great law of human nature, that, where activity and quiet, ſociety and diſtance, voluntary occupation and it's advantages, are happily united, ſuch a courſe of things is promoted, as is favourable both to the people themſelves, and to their neighbours. Nothing is more injurious to the health of mankind, than obſtructions of their juices: in the deſpotic ſtates of ancient inſtitution theſe were inevitable; and hence, if they were not ſoon extirpated, their bodies, while alive, underwent a lingering death. On the other hand, where, from the nature of the country, ſtates continued ſmall, and the inhabitants in healthy activity, to which a life divided between ſea and land is particularly conducive, favourable circumſtances alone were required, to form a highly cultivated and celebrated people. Thus, to ſay nothing of other countries, the iſlanders of Crete were the firſt among the grecians themſelves, to produce a ſyſtem of laws as a model for all the republics on the main land; and of theſe the moſt numerous and celebrated were fixed on the coaſts. Thus the ancients placed their ſeats of bliſs on iſlands not without reaſon; probably becauſe on iſlands they found the moſt free and happy people.

When we apply this to Greece, how different muſt we expect to find it's inhabitants from thoſe of the lofty mountains. A narrow ſtrait divided

Thrace

Thrace from Aſia Minor; and this fertile country, rich in nations, was connected along it's weſtern ſhore with Greece by a ſound thickly interſperſed with iſlands. It ſeems as if the Helleſpont had been broken through, and the Egean ſea with it's iſlands interpoſed, to facilitate the paſſage, and produce a conſtant wandering and circulation throughout Greece. Thus in the remoteſt times we find the numerous nations of theſe coaſts roaming the ſeas: cretans, lydians, pelaſgians, thracians, rhodians, phrygians, cyprians, mileſians, carians, leſbians, phoceans, ſamians, ſpartans, naxians, heretrians, and eginetans, followed each other, even before the time of Xerxes, in the dominion of the ſea *; and long before theſe maritime powers, pirates, coloniſts, and adventurers, were found upon it; ſo that there is ſcarcely a nation of Greece, that has not migrated, and many more than once. Every thing here has been in motion from the oldeſt times, from the coaſts of Aſia Minor to Italy, Sicily, and France: no people of Europe has colonized a finer, more extenſive country, than theſe greeks. This is what we mean, when we talk of the fine climate of Greece. Did the expreſſion ſignify merely the indolent ſeat of fertility in wellwatered vales, or meadows overflowed by rivers, how many finer climates would be found in the other three quarters of the

* Heyne's Commentary on the Epoch of Caſtor, in the *Nov. Comment. Soc. Gatt.*, 'New Memoirs of the Gœttingen Society,' Vol. I, II.

Globe,

Globe, no one of which, however, has yet produced greeks *! But a ſeries of coaſts, enjoying an air ſo favourable to the activity of little ſtates in the progreſs of cultivation, as thoſe of Ionia, Greece, and Græcia Magna, are no where elſe to be found upon Earth.

We need not long inquire whence Greece derived it's firſt inhabitants. They were called pelaſgians, that is ſtrangers, and at this diſtance acknowledged the people beyond the ſea, that is, of Aſia Minor, as brethren. It would be uſeleſs labour, to enumerate all the courſes they ſteered, through Thrace, or over the Helleſpont and Archipelago, weſtward and ſouthward; and how, protected by the northern mountains, they gradually ſpread over Greece. One tribe followed another; one tribe preſſed upon another: hellenes brought new knowledge to the ancient pelaſgians, as in the progreſs of time grecian colonies again ſettled on the aſiatic ſhores. It was favourable enough for the greeks, that they were in the vicinity of ſuch a fine peninſula of the great continent, moſt of the inhabitants of which were not only of one race, but more early civilized †. Hence their language acquired that originality and uniformity, which a mixture of many tongues could not have poſſeſſed; and the nation itſelf participated in the moral condition of the neighbouring primitive

* See Riedeſel's *Bemerkungen auf einer Reiſe nach der Levante*, 'Obſervations on a Tour to the Levant,' p. 113.

† See Heyne on the Origin of the Greeks, *Commentat. Soc. Gotting.*, 'Memoirs of the Gœttingen Society,' 1764.

race,

race, with whom it was ſoon connected by the various relations of war and peace. Thus Aſia Minor was the parent of Greece, both in peopling it, and in imparting the principal features of it's earlieſt cultivation: while Greece in it's turn afterward ſent out colonies to it's mother country, and lived to ſee in it a ſecond and ſuperiour cultivation.

It is to be regretted, however, that we have very little knowledge of the aſiatic peninſula in the earlieſt times. Of the kingdom of the trojans we know nothing except from Homer; and however high he endeavours, as a poet, to exalt his countrymen above their antagoniſts, the flouriſhing ſtate of Troy in the arts, and even in magnificence, is evident from his account. In like manner the phrygians were an ancient and early cultivated nation, whoſe religion and fables had an unqueſtionable influence on the earlieſt mythology of the greeks. So afterwards the carians, who called themſelves brothers of the myſians and lydians, and were of the ſame race with the pelaſgians and leleges, applied early to navigation, which at that time was merely piracy; while the more civilized lydians ſhare the invention of coin, as a medium of commerce, with the phenicians. Thus none of theſe people were wanting in early cultivation, any more than the myſians and thracians, and were capable of becoming greeks by proper tranſplantation.

The primitive ſeat of the grecian muſes was in the north-eaſt, toward Thrace. Orpheus, who firſt converted the ſavage pelaſgians to humanity, and introduced thoſe religious practices, that prevailed

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ſo widely and ſo long, was a thracian. The firſt mountains of the muſes were the mountains of Theſſaly; Olympus, Helicon, Parnaſſus, Pindus: here, ſays the acuteſt of the inveſtigators of grecian hiſtory*, was the moſt ancient ſeat of the religion, philoſophy, muſic, and poetry, of Greece. Here dwelt the firſt grecian bards: here were formed the firſt civilized ſocieties: here the lyre and the harp were invented, and the firſt models caſt of every thing, that grecian genius afterwards produced. In Theſſaly and Bœotia, which in later times were ſo little celebrated for the production of genius, there is not a fountain, a river, a hill, or a grove, which poetry has not immortalized. Here flowed the Peneus, here was the delightful Tempe: here Apollo wandered in the garb of a ſhepherd, and here the giants piled up their mountains. At the foot of Helicon Heſiod yet learned his fables from the mouths of the muſes. In ſhort, the firſt cultivation of the greeks was indigenous here; and hence the purer grecian language flowed through the deſcendants of the hellenes in it's principal dialects.

In the courſe of time, however, a ſeries of other fables neceſſarily aroſe, on ſuch various coaſts and iſlands, and from ſuch repeated wanderings and adventures, which the poets equally conſecrated in the temple of the grecian muſe. Almoſt every little diſtrict, every celebrated tribe, introduced into it

* Heyne on the Muſes: ſee *Gœtt. Anzeigen*, 'The Gœttingen Review,' for 1766, p. 275.

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it's anceſtors or national divinities: and this variety, which would form an impenetrable wood, if we were to conſider the grecian mythology as a ſyſtem, infuſed life into the national way of thinking from the actions and manners of every tribe. Without ſuch various roots and germes, that fine garden, which in time produced the moſt diverſified fruits, even in legiſlation, could not have come to perfection. The land being divided into many portions, this tribe defended it's valley, that it's coaſts and iſlands; and thus from the long youthful activity of ſcattered tribes and kingdoms aroſe the great and free genius of the grecian muſe. It's cultivation was under the control of no univerſal lord: from the voice of the lyre, at religious ceremonies, games, and dances; from arts and ſciences of it's own invention; and, laſtly, ſtill more from the various intercourſe of the different tribes of Greece among each other and with ſtrangers; it adopted, of it's own free will, now this, now that law, cuſtom, or principle: thus being a free grecian people, even in the progreſs of cultivation. That, as phenician colonies contributed to this in Thebes, ſo egyptian colonies did in Attica, cannot be denied: yet, fortunately, neither the principal race of the greeks, nor their language and way of thinking, ſprung from theſe. Thanks to their deſcent, mode of life, and native muſes, the greeks were not deſtined to become a herd of egyptian canaanites.

CHAPTER II.

The Language, Mythology, and Poetry of Greece.

We now come to ſubjects, which have been for ſome thouſands of years the delight of the more poliſhed part of mankind, and I hope will ever continue to be ſo. The grecian language is the moſt refined of any in the World; the grecian mythology, the richeſt and moſt beautiful upon Earth; the grecian poetry, perhaps the moſt perfect of it's kind, when conſidered with reſpect to time and place. But who gave this once rude people ſuch a language, ſuch poetry, and ſuch figurative wiſdom? The genius of nature, their country, their way of life, the period in which they lived, and the character of their progenitors.

The greek language ſprang from rude beginnings: but theſe very beginnings contained the ſeeds of what it was afterwards to become. They were no hieroglyphic patchwork, no ſeries of ſingly ejected ſyllables, like the languages beyond the mungal mountains. Readier and more flexible organs produced among the caucaſean nations a more eaſy modulation, which was ſuſceptible of being ſoon reduced to form by the ſocial propenſity to muſic. The words were more ſmoothly connected, the tone modulated into rhythm: the language flowed in a fuller ſtream; it's images, in pleaſing harmony: it raiſed itſelf to the melody of the dance. And thus

thus the peculiar character of the greek language, not conſtrained by mute laws, aroſe as a living image of nature, from muſic and the dance, from hiſtory and ſong, and from the talkative free intercourſe of many tribes and colonies. The northern nations of Europe were not thus fortunate in their formation. Foreign manners imparted to them by foreign laws, and a religion devoid of ſong crippled their language. The german, for example, has unqueſtionably loſt much of it's intrinſic flexibility, of it's more preciſe expreſſion in the inflection of words, and ſtill more of that energetic tone, which it formerly poſſeſſed in a more favourable climate. Once it was a near ſiſter of the greek; but how far from this is it now degenerated! No language beyond the Ganges poſſeſſes the flexibility and ſmooth flow of the greek: no aramean dialect on this ſide the Euphrates had them in it's ancient form. The grecian language alone appears as if derived from ſong: for ſong, and poetry, and an early enjoyment of freedom, faſhioned it as the univerſal language of the muſes. Improbable as it is, that all the ſprings of grecian cultivation ſhould again combine together; that the infancy of mankind ſhould return, and an Orpheus, a Muſæus, and a Linus, or a Homer and Heſiod, revive with every concomitant circumſtance: as little is the generation of a greek language in our times poſſible, even in the ſame regions.

The mythology of the greeks flowed from the fables of various countries: and theſe conſiſted either of the popular faith; the traditionary accounts, that

that the different generations preſerved of their anceſtors; or the firſt attempts of reflecting minds, to explain the wonders of the Earth, and give a conſiſtency to ſociety *. However ſpurious and new-modified our hymns of the ancient Orpheus may be; ſtill they are imitations of that lively devotion, and reverence of Nature, to which all nations in the firſt ſtage of civilization are prone. The rude hunter addreſſes his dreaded bear †; the negro, his ſacred fetiſh; the parſee mobed, his ſpirits of nature and the elements; nearly after the Orphic manner: but how is the Orphic hymn to Nature refined and ennobled, merely by the grecian words and images! And how much more pleaſing and eaſy did the greek mythology become, as in time it rejected even from it's hymns the fetters of mere epithet, and recited inſtead, as in the ſongs of Homer, fables of the deities! In the coſmogonies, too, the harſh primitive legends were in time amalgamated together, and human heroes and patriarchs were ſung, and placed by the ſide of the gods. Happily the ancient relaters of theogonies introduced into the genealogies of their gods and heroes ſuch ſtriking, beautiful allegories, frequently with a ſingle word of their elegant language, that when ſubſequent

* See Heyne *De Fontibus & Cauſis Errorum, &c.*, 'On the Sources and Cauſes of Errour in mythological Hiſtory: on the phyſical Cauſes of Fables: on the Origin and Cauſes of the Fables of Homer: on the Theogony compiled by Heſiod: &c.'

† See Georgi's *Abbildungen der Vœlker des Ruſſiſchen Reichs*, 'Delineations of the people of the Ruſſian Empire,' Vol. I.

philoſophers thought fit merely to unfold their ſignification, and connect with it their more refined ideas, a new delicate tiſſue was formed. Thus the epic poets in time laid aſide their frequently repeated fables of the generation of the gods, the ſtorming of Heaven, the actions of Hercules, and the like, and ſang more human themes for the uſe of man.

Of theſe Homer, the father of all the grecian poets and philoſophers that ſucceeded him, is the moſt celebrated. His ſcattered ſongs had the fortunate deſtiny to be collected at the moſt favourable juncture, and erected into a double edifice, ſhining like an indeſtructible palace of gods and heroes after thouſands of years. As men have endeavoured to explain the wonders of nature, ſo they have taken pains to inveſtigate the exiſtence of Homer*, who was in fact a mere child of Nature, a happy bard of the ionian ſhore. Many of his order have ſunk perhaps into oblivion, who might have been in part his competitors for that fame, which he alone enjoys. Temples have been erected to him, and he has been adored as a human divinity: but his nobleſt adoration conſiſts in the permanent influence he had on his own nation, and on all who are capable of feeling his merit. The ſubjects of his ſong, indeed, are trifles in our eyes: his gods and heroes, with their paſſions and manners, are ſuch as the fables of his own and preced-

* Blackwell's Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, 1736: Wood's Eſſay on the original Genius of Homer, 1769.

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ing times preſented: his knowledge of phyſics and geography, his morals and politics, are equally confined. But the truth and wiſdom, with which he has moulded all the objects of his world into a living whole; the ſteady outline of every feature of every perſon in his immortal picture; the eaſy, unlaboured manner, in which, free as a god, he penetrates into every character, and relates their virtues and vices, their fortunes and misfortunes; and laſtly, the muſic, that inceſſantly flows from his lips throughout poems of ſuch extent and variety, and will animate every image, every tone, as long as his verſes ſhall live; are the circumſtances, for which Homer ſtands unrivalled in the hiſtory of mankind, and which render him worthy of immortality, if aught on Earth can be immortal.

On the greeks Homer neceſſarily had a different effect from what he can have upon us, from whom he ſo often obtains a forced and frigid admiration, or indeed cold contempt. Not ſo with the greeks. To them he ſung in a living language; at that time perfectly unfettered by what was ſubſequently termed dialects: to them he recited with patriotic feelings the exploits of their anceſtors againſt foreigners, and ſung families, tribes, actions, and countries, which were in part preſent to their eyes as their own, and in part lived in the memory of their national pride. Thus to them Homer was in many reſpects the divine herald of national fame, a ſource of the moſt diverſified national wiſdom. The ſucceeding poets followed him: from him the tragic borrowed fables; the didactic, allegories, examples,

and maxims: every one, who firſt attempted a new kind of writing, took from the artificial ſtructure of Homer's work the model of his own: ſo that Homer was ſoon the pattern of grecian taſte, and with weaker heads the ſtandard of all human wiſdom. The roman poets, too, felt his influence; and but for him the Eneid would never have exiſted. Still more has he contributed, to reclaim the modern nations of Europe from barbariſm; ſo many youth have been formed, while they were delighted by him; ſo many active as well as contemplative men have imbibed from him the principles of taſte, and a knowledge of mankind. Yet it cannot be denied, that, as every great man has been the cauſe of abuſes from an inordinate admiration of his talents, ſo has the good Homer; inſomuch that no one would wonder more than himſelf, could he ariſe from the dead, and ſee what has been extracted from him at various times. Among the greeks fable maintained it's ground more firmly, and for a longer period, than it would have done probably without him: rhapſodiſts ſung after him, frigid poetaſters imitated him, and the enthuſiaſm for Homer became at length among the greeks ſuch a bald, inſipid, wiredrawn art as ſcarcely has been paralleled for any poet by any other people. The innumerable comments of the grammarians upon him are for the moſt part loſt; otherwiſe we ſhould ſee in them the miſerable toil God impoſes upon the ſucceeding generations of men in every preponderating genius: for are not examples enough extant of the erroneous ſtudy and miſapplication of

Homer

Homer in modern times? Thus much however is certain, that a mind like his, in the period in which he lived, and for the nation by which his works were collected, was ſuch an inſtrument of improvement, as ſcarcely any other people can boaſt. No oriental nation poſſeſſes a Homer: no poet like him has appeared at the proper ſeaſon, in the bloom of youth, to any people of Europe. Even Oſſian was not the ſame to his ſcots: and the Fates alone can tell, whether a ſecond Homer will be given to the new grecian Archipelago, the Friendly iſlands, who will lead them to an equal height with that, to which his elder brother led Greece.

As the cultivation of the greeks thus proceeded from mythology, poetry, and muſic, we need not wonder, that a taſte for them remained a leading feature of their character, as their moſt ſerious writings and inſtitutions evince. To our manners it appears incongruous, that the greeks ſhould ſpeak of muſic as the finiſhing point of education, that they ſhould treat it as a grand engine of ſtate, and aſcribe the moſt important conſequences to it's decline. Still more ſingular appear to us the animated and almoſt rapturous praiſes they beſtow on dancing, pantomime, and the dramatic art, as the natural ſiſters of poetry and wiſdom. Many, who read theſe encomiums, believed, that the muſic of the greeks was a miracle of ſyſtematic perfection, as we are ſo totally unacquainted with any thing like it's celebrated effects. But that the greeks did not principally apply to the ſcientific perfection of muſic appears from the very uſe which they made

of it: for they did not cultivate it as a diſtinct art, but employed it ſubſerviently to poetry, the dance, and the drama. Thus the grand effect of it's tones lay in this connexion, and in the general bent of grecian cultivation. The poetry of the greeks, proceeding from muſic, readily returned to it again: ſublime tragedy itſelf originated from the chorus; the ancient comedy, public rejoicings, military expeditions, and the domeſtic hilarity of the feaſt, were ſeldom unaccompanied by muſic and ſong; and few games were deſtitute of the dance. In theſe, indeed, as Greece conſiſted of many ſtates and nations, one province differed much from another: the times, the various degrees of civilization and luxury, induced ſtill greater variation: yet on the whole it remains perfectly true, that the greeks eſteemed the joint improvement of theſe arts the ſummit of human energy, and attached to it the higheſt value.

It muſt be confeſſed, that neither pantomime nor the drama, neither the dance, nor poetry, nor muſic, is with us, what it was with the greeks. With them all theſe were only one work, one bloſſom of the human mind, the wild ſeeds of which we perceive in every nation of gay and pleaſing character, if placed in a happy climate. Abſurd as it would be, to endeavour to tranſport ourſelves back to this period of youthful levity, which is now paſt, and to ſkip as a hobbling graybeard among boys; why ſhould the graybeard be offended with youth for being lively, and dancing? The cultivation of the greeks fell on this period of youthful jollity, from

from the arts of which they elicited whatever was capable of being educed, and thus neceſſarily accompliſhed effects, the poſſibility of which is ſcarce conceivable to us, exhauſted and diſeaſed. For I doubt, whether a greater power of operation of refined ſenſes upon the mind can be produced, than the ſtudied ſupreme point of junction of theſe arts, particularly on minds educated and formed to them, and living in a world animated by ſimilar impreſſions. If then we cannot be greeks ourſelves, let us at leaſt rejoice, that there once were greeks, and that, like every other flower of the human mind, this alſo found a time and place to put forth it's lovelieſt bloſſoms.

From what has been ſaid may be conjectured, that many ſpecies of grecian compoſition, which were deſigned for animated repreſentation, with muſic, dancing, and pantomime, appear to us merely as ſhadows, and may perhaps miſlead us even with the moſt careful explanation. The theatres of Æſchylus, Sophocles, Ariſtophanes, and Euripides, were not our theatres: the proper drama of the greeks is no more to be ſeen in any nation, however excellent the pieces of this kind, that many have produced. Without ſong, without the feſtivals of the greeks, and without the exalted notions they entertained of their games, the odes of Pindar muſt appear to us the exclamations of ebriety; as even in the dialogues of Plato, abounding in melody of language, and beautiful compoſition of images and words, thoſe very paſſages, which were clothed with the greateſt art, have been expoſed to the

moſt numerous objections from critics. Youth, therefore, muſt learn to read the greeks; ſince the aged are ſeldom inclined to look at them, or appropriate to themſelves their beauties. Grant, that their imagination often outflies the underſtanding; that the refined ſenſuality, in which they place the eſſence of accompliſhment, ſometimes overſteps the bounds of reaſon and virtue; let us not refuſe them due eſteem, though we refrain from becoming greeks ourſelves. From their dreſs, the fine proportion and outline of their thoughts, the natural vivacity of their ſentiments, and laſtly from the melodious rhythm of their language, which never yet found it's equal, we have much to learn.

CHAPTER III.

The Arts of the Greeks.

In all the arts of life, a people endued with ſuch ſentiments muſt neceſſarily aſcend from the neceſſary to the beautiful and pleaſing; and the greeks attained almoſt the higheſt point in every thing relating to them. Their religion required ſtatues and temples; their political inſtitutions demanded monuments and public edifices; their climate and way of living, their activity, luxury, vanity, &c., rendered various works of art indiſpenſable. Thus the genius of beauty put theſe works into their hands, and aſſiſted them alone of all mortals to finiſh them; for though their greateſt wonders of art

art have long been deſtroyed, we ſtill admire and cheriſh their ruins and fragments.

1. That religion greatly promoted the arts of the greeks, we ſee from the catalogues of their works in Pauſanias, Pliny, or any of the collections, which ſpeak of their remains: and this is conformable to the univerſal hiſtory of men and nations. All men have been deſirous of ſeeing the objects of their worſhip; and every where they have attempted, to paint or carve repreſentations of them, where this has not been prohibited by religion or the law. Even the negro renders his god preſent to him in a fetiſh: and of the greeks we know, that the repreſentations of their gods primarily originated from a ſtone or a rude billet. This poverty could not long ſatisfy a people ſo active: the block became a herm*, or a ſtatue; and as the nation was divided into many little tribes and ſtates, it was natural, that each ſhould endeavour to embelliſh the images of it's domeſtic and family deities. Some ſucceſsful attempts of the ancient Dedaluſes, and probably the view of neighbouring works of art, excited emulation; and thus ſeveral ſtates and tribes were ſoon enabled to contemplate their god, the moſt ſacred of all the things they poſſeſſed, in a more agreeable form. The firſt eſſays of ancient art, in which it learned as it were to go, were principally images of the gods †: hence

* Ἕρμα, per ſyncopen pro ἵδρυμα.

† See Winkelmann's *Geſch. der Kunſt*, 'Hiſtory of the Arts,' Vol. I, chap. 1; and Heyne's confirmation of it, and additions to it, in the german papers of the Gœttingen Society, Vol. I, p. 211, &c.

no

no nation, to which repreſentations of the gods were prohibited, ever made any great advancement in the imitative arts.

But as the gods of the greeks were introduced by poetry and ſong, and animated them in majeſtic forms, what could be more natural, than that the imitative arts ſhould become the nurſlings of the muſe, who poured into their ear thoſe ſplendid forms? From the poets the artiſt learned the hiſtory of the gods, and conſequently the manner, in which he was to delineate them: hence the firſt artiſts rejected not the moſt terrible repreſentations, while ſuch the poets ſung *. In time more pleaſing delineations ſucceeded, poetry itſelf aſſuming more agreeable features: and thus Homer was the parent of the improvement of the fine arts of the greeks, as he was of their poetry. From him Phidias derived the exalted idea of his Jupiter, which was followed by the other performances of this ſculptor of gods †. From the genealogies and affinities of the gods in the relations of the poets, determinate characters, or family features, entered into their repreſentations, till at length the received poetical tradition became a law for the figures of the gods, throughout the realms of art. Thus no people of antiquity could poſſeſs the arts of the greeks, who had not alſo the grecian poetry and mythology, and who acquired not their culti-

* See Heyne *ueber den Kaſten des Kypſelus*, 'On the Coffer of Kypſelus,' &c.

† Diis quam hominibus fingendis aptior. Plin. F.

vation

vation in a similar manner. But such are not to be found in history; and consequently the greeks, with their homeric arts, remain alone.

Hence may be explained the ideal creation of grecian art, which arose neither from the profound philosophy of the artists, nor the natural conformation of the people, but from the causes, that have been developed. Unquestionably it was a fortunate circumstance, that the greeks, considered in the whole, were beautifully formed; though this form must not be extended to every individual greek, as a model of ideal beauty. In Greece, as every where else, copious Nature did not submit to be checked in the thousandfold variation of the human figure; and, if Hippocrates may be believed, as among others, so among the greeks, deforming accidents and maladies were to be found. But admitting all this, and taking into the account many happy opportunities, when the artist could exalt a beautiful youth into an Apollo, and a Phryne or a Lais into a goddess of love; this would not explain the received ideal of the deities, which was established as a rule among the artists. Perhaps it is as little probable, that a head of Jupiter should ever have been found on a human body, as that the Jupiter of Homer actually existed in this World. The great anatomical draughtsman Camper has clearly shown on what deeply meditated rules the ideal form of the grecian artist was constructed*: but to these rules the representations of the poets, and

* Camper's *Kleinere Schriften*, 'Smaller Tracts,' p. 18 and foll.

the

the aim of producing religious veneration, alone could have led. If, therefore, you would produce a new Greece in images of the gods, give a people again this poetic mythological ſuperſtition, with every thing belonging to it, in all it's natural ſimplicity. Travel through Greece, and contemplate it's temples, grottoes, and ſacred groves; you will ſoon relinquiſh the thought, even in wiſh, of exalting to the height of grecian art a people totally ignorant of ſuch a religion, that is, of ſuch a lively ſuperſtition, which filled every town, every ſpot, every nook, with the preſence of an innate divinity.

2. All the heroic fables of the greeks, particularly when they relate to the progenitors of their race, are in a ſimilar predicament; for they too paſſed through the minds of the poets, and in part lived in eternal ſong: accordingly the artiſt, who made them his ſubjects, copied their hiſtory with a ſort of religious regard to the poets, to gratify the pride of his countrymen, and their attachment to their anceſtors. The moſt ancient hiſtory of the arts, and a view of the grecian performances, confirm this. Graves, ſhields, altars, holy places, and temples, preſerved the remembrance of their forefathers; and on theſe, in many tribes, the labours of the artiſt were employed from the moſt ancient times. All warlike nations throughout the World painted and adorned their ſhields: the greeks went farther; they engraved, or caſt and carved upon them memorials of their anceſtors. Hence the early performances of Vulcan in very ancient poets: hence in Heſiod the

ſhield of Hercules with the achievements of Perſeus. With ſhields came repreſentations of this kind upon the altars of heroes, or other family memorials; as the coffer of Kypſelus ſhows, the figures on which were completely in the ſtyle of Heſiod's ſhield. Noble works of this kind are of earlier date than the age of Dedalus; and as many temples of the gods were originally tombs *, in them the memory of their anceſtors, their heroes, and their deities, came ſo near together, that they coaleſced almoſt into one adoration, at leaſt into one ſpring of the arts. Hence the ancient ſtories of their heroes repreſented on the drapery of their gods, and by the ſide of the altar and the throne: hence the pictures in honour of the deceaſed frequently in the market place of the city, or the herms and columns on graves. If to theſe we add the innumerable works of art preſented to the temples of the gods by ſtates, families, or individuals, as memorials, or votive offerings of gratitude; and frequently adorned, according to cuſtom, with ſubjects from the hiſtory of their progenitors, or heroes; what other people can boaſt ſuch an incentive to the moſt diverſified art? Our galleries of anceſtors, filled with the portraits of forgotten forefathers, are nothing in compariſon with theſe; as all Greece was full of ſtories, and poems, and ſacred places, of their gods, and heroic progenitors. Every thing was connected with the bold idea, that gods

* As, for example, the temple of Pallas at Lariſſa was the tomb of Acriſius; that of Minerva Polias at Athens, the tomb of Erichthonius; the throne of Amyclus, the tomb of Hyacinthus; &c.

were

were related to them; that ſuperiour men, and heroes, were but an inferiour order of deities: and this idea their poets had infuſed.

With this regard to national and family fame, by which the arts were promoted, I reckon the grecian games. Theſe were inſtituted by their heroes, and feſtivals to their memory: beſide this, they were public acts of worſhip to the gods, and practices highly advantageous both to poetry and the imitative arts. Not merely that youths, partly naked, exerciſed themſelves in various conteſts and feats of activity, and thus preſented living models to the artiſts; but rather as by theſe exerciſes their bodies were rendered ſuſceptible of a finer form, and theſe juvenile victories preſerved in their minds an active remembrance of the fame of their relations, their progenitors, and their heroes. From Pindar, and from hiſtory, we know how highly theſe victories were held in eſtimation throughout all Greece, and with what emulation they were ſought. The whole town of the conqueror was honoured by them: the family of the victor was raiſed to a level with the gods and heroes of old. On this turns the economy of Pindar's odes: works of art, which he raiſed to a value higher than that of ſtatues. On this depended the honour of the tomb, or ſtatue, commonly a work of fancy, which the victor could claim. By this ſucceſsful emulation of his heroic anceſtors he was raiſed to ſomething more than man, and became a kind of god. Where could ſuch games be inſtituted now, equally prized, and equal in conſequences?

3. The political inſtitutions of the greeks likewiſe promoted the arts: not ſo much becauſe they were republics, as becauſe theſe republics employed the artiſts on grand works. Greece was divided into many ſtates; and in theſe the arts were foſtered, whether they were governed by archons, or by kings. For theſe kings were greeks; and every demand for the arts, whether ſpringing from religion or family tales, was their demand: frequently, too, they were the highprieſts. Thus from remote periods the decoration of their palaces was diſtinguiſhed by precious relics of their anceſtors or heroic friends, as Homer relates. But the republican conſtitutions, which in time were diffuſed throughout all Greece, gave a wider ſcope to the arts. In a commonwealth, edifices for the aſſembly of the people, for the public treaſure, for general exerciſe and amuſement, were neceſſary; and thus aroſe, in Athens, for example, the magnificent gymnaſia, theatres, and galleries, the Odeum and Prytaneum, the Pnyx, &c. As in the grecian republics every thing was conducted in the name of the people, or of the town, nothing, that concerned their tutelary deities, or the grandeur of their name, was too coſtly; while individuals, and even the principal citizens, ſatisfied themſelves with leſs ſumptuous habitations. This public ſpirit of doing every thing, in appearance at leaſt, for the community was the ſoul of the grecian ſtates; as Winkelmann no doubt conſidered, when he eſteemed the liberty of the grecian republics the golden age of the arts. In them grandeur and magnificence were not ſo divided

vided as in modern times, but concentred in whatever pertained to the ſtate. Pericles flattered the people with theſe notions of fame, and did more for the arts, than ten kings of Athens would have done. Every thing he built was in the grand ſtyle, as it was for the gods, and the immortal city: and aſſuredly few of the grecian towns and iſlands would have erected ſuch edifices, or promoted ſuch works of art, had they not been ſeparate republics, emulous of each other's fame. Beſides, as in democratic ſtates the leaders of the people muſt endeavour to pleaſe the public, what means could they more advantageouſly employ, than ſuch kinds of expenſe, as, while they tended to propitiate the tutelary deities, were calculated to gratify the eyes of the people, and afford ſubſiſtence to many?

This expenſe, no doubt, had conſequences, from which Humanity would willingly avert her eyes. The rigour with which the athenians oppreſſed thoſe whom they conquered, and even their colonies; the robberies and wars, in which the ſtates of Greece were perpetually involved; the ſevere ſervices, which the citizens themſelves had to perform for the ſtate; and many other things; rendered the grecian ſtates not the moſt deſirable: but even theſe grievances were ſubſervient to the public arts. The temples of the gods were for the moſt part held ſacred even by the enemy; and ſuch temples as the enemy deſtroyed aroſe more ſplendid from their aſhes on a reverſe of fortune. From the ſpoils of the perſians a more magnificent Athens was built: and, in almoſt every ſucceſsful war, part of the booty that

that belonged to the ſtate was ſacrificed to one or other of the arts. Even in late times, Athens maintained the glory of her name, by her edifices and ſtatues, in ſpite of all the ravages of the romans: for ſeveral emperors, kings, heroes, and wealthy individuals, were emulous to preſerve and adorn a city, which was the acknowledged parent of all refined taſte. Hence under the macedonian empire we perceive the arts of the greeks did not periſh; they only changed their ſeat. Even in remote countries the grecian kings were ſtill greeks, and cheriſhed the grecian arts. Thus Alexander, and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, built ſplendid cities in Aſia and Africa. Rome, and other nations, too, learned from the greeks, when their countries were ripe for the arts: for throughout the whole Earth appeared but one grecian art, and ſtyle of architecture.

4. The climate of the greeks, too, afforded food for the beautiful in the arts; not principally from the human figure, which depends more on deſcent than on climate; but from it's convenient ſituation for the materials of the arts, and the erection of the performances of the artiſt. Their country afforded them the fine parian and other marbles: ivory, braſs, and whatever elſe the arts required, they derived from a trade, of which they lay as in the centre. Theſe even preceded in a certain degree the birth of their arts themſelves; as they were in a ſituation to obtain from Aſia Minor, Phenicia, and other countries, valuable materials, which they yet knew not how to employ. Thus the ſeeds of their future talents in the arts were early ſown; particu-

larly as their proximity to Aſia Minor, their colonies in Græcia Magna, &c., excited in them a taſte for luxury, and the enjoyments of life, which could not fail to promote the arts. The gay diſpoſition of the greeks was by no means inclined to waſte it's induſtry on uſeleſs pyramids. Individual towns and ſtates indeed could never deviate into this wilderneſs of the monſtrous. Thus, if we except perhaps the ſingle Coloſſus of Rhodes, even in their works of greateſt magnitude they adhered to that beautiful proportion, in which the pleaſing and ſublime are united. For this their ſerene climate afforded them ſufficient opportunity. It allowed them thoſe numerous uncovered ſtatues, altars, and temples; and in particular the beautiful column, that pattern of ſimplicity, correctneſs, and proportion, the ſlender gracefulneſs of which could there ſupply the place of the ſullen northern wall.

When we combine all theſe circumſtances, it is obvious, how art could operate, in Ionia, Greece, and Sicily, in that correct and airy ſtyle, which the greeks exhibited in all their works of taſte. By rules alone it is not to be learned: but it diſplays itſelf in the obſervation of rules; and, though originally the inſpiration of a happy genius, muſt become mechanical by continued practice. Even the meaneſt grecian artiſt was a greek in his manner; we may excel him; but the whole genetic ſpirit of grecian art we ſhall never attain: the genius of thoſe times is gone by.

CHAPTER IV.

The moral and political Wiſdom of the Greeks.

THE manners of the greeks were as different, as their deſcent, their country, and the way in which they lived, according to their degree of civilization, and the ſeries of ſucceſſes or misfortunes, in which the fates had placed them. The arcadians and athenians, the ionians and epirots, the ſpartans and ſybarites, were ſo diſſimilar to each other in age, ſituation, and mode of life, that I want ſkill to ſketch out a deceptive picture of them as a whole, the features of which muſt appear more contradictory, than thoſe of the genius of the athenians painted by Parrhaſius *. Nothing remains for us, therefore, but to mark the general courſe taken by the moral culture of the greeks, and the manner in which it coaleſced with their political inſtitutions.

As the moſt ancient moral culture of all the nations upon Earth proceeded chiefly from their religion, ſo did that of the greeks, and it continued long in this track. The religious ceremonies, which were propagated through the means of the various myſteries, even when politics had attained a very conſiderable height; the ſacred rights of hoſpitality,

* ‘ Pinxit demon athenienſium argumento quoque ingenioſo: volebat namque varium, iracundum, injuſtum, inconſtantem, eundem exorabilem, clementem, miſericordem, excelſum, glorioſum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque, et omnia pariter oſtendere.’ Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxxv. c. 10.

and of the protection of unfortunate fugitives; the inviolability of holy places; the belief in the furies and vengeance, that purſued even unpremeditated murder, and inflicted a curſe upon a whole land for blood unexpiated; the practices of atonement, and appeaſing the gods; the reſponſes of the oracles; the ſanctity of an oath, of the hearth, of the temples, of graves, &c.; were opinions and inſtitutions, the prevalence of which was to unite a rude people, and gradually form demiſavages to humanity *. That they happily accompliſhed their object, we perceive, when we compare the greeks with other nations: for it is inconteſtible, that through theſe inſtitutions they were led, not to the gates of philoſophy and political cultivation, but deep into their ſanctuary. Of what important ſervice to Greece was the oracle at Delphi alone! It's divine voice pointed out ſo many tyrants and villains, in warning them of their fate; and not leſs frequently did it ſuccour the unfortunate, counſel thoſe in need of advice, ſtrengthen beneficial inſtitutions with the authority of the gods, make known works of art or the muſe that could reach it, and give a ſanction to moral principles and maxims of ſtate. Thus the rude verſes of the oracle accompliſhed more than the moſt poliſhed lines of later poets: and it had the greateſt influence, as it took under it's protection the amphictyons, the ſupreme judges and control-

* See Heyne on the Inſtitutions of the firſt Grecian Legiſlators for the Softening of Manners, in *Opuſc. academic.*, 'Academical Tracts,' Part I, p. 207.

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lers of the ſtates of all Greece, and gave their ſentences in a certain degree the weight of religious laws. What has been propoſed in modern times as the ſole mean of eſtabliſhing perpetual peace throughout Europe, a tribunal of amphictyons *, exiſted formerly among the greeks; and indeed near the throne of the god of truth and wiſdom, who ſanctified it by his authority.

With religion may be reckoned all thoſe practices, which preſerved to poſterity the remembrance of their anceſtors, from whoſe inſtitutions they ſprung for theſe continued to operate in the formation of their morals. Thus, for inſtance, the various public games gave a peculiar turn to education in Greece; as they made bodily exerciſes it's principal object, and the excellencies acquired by them the aim of the whole nation. No tree ever produced ſuch beautiful fruits, as the little branches of olive, ivy, and pine, which crowned the grecian victors. Theſe rendered youth handſome, healthy, and gay; theſe gave their limbs ſuppleneſs, ſtrength, and ſymmetry; theſe ſtruck into their minds the firſt ſparks of love of fame, even of poſthumous fame, and impreſſed on them the indelible character of living publicly for their country; and laſtly, what is of all moſt valuable, they rooted in their hearts that taſte for manly intercourſe, and manly friendſhip, for which the greeks were peculiarly diſtinguiſhed. In Greece woman was not the ſupreme

* See *Oeuvres par St. Pierre*; 'St. Pierre's Works,' Vol. I, and almoſt all his writings.

object of conteſt, to gain which the youth bent all his powers: the moſt beautiful Helen could have formed nothing but a Paris, had her poſſeſſion or enjoyment been the only ſcope of manly endowment. The female ſex, notwithſtanding the fine patterns of every virtue it produced in Greece, remained a ſubordinate object; the thoughts of nobler youth were bent on ſomething higher; the bands of friendſhip, which they formed with each other, or with more experienced men, trained them for a ſchool, which no Aſpaſia could eaſily ſupply. Hence, in many ſtates, the manly love of the greeks; with that emulation, that inſtruction, that conſtancy, and that ſacrifice of ſelf, the feelings and conſequences of which we read in Plato almoſt as a romance from a foreign planet. Manly hearts united in bonds of love and friendſhip, that held till death; the friends diſplayed toward each other a ſort of jealouſy, which hunted out the minuteſt ſpots; and each dreaded the other's eye, as a penetrating flame diſcovering the moſt ſecret inclinations of his mind. Youthful friendſhips are the ſweeteſt; and no ſentiment is ſo deſirable as the love of thoſe, with whom we have exerciſed ourſelves in the courſe of perfection, during the delightful years of our budding faculties; and this courſe was publicly preſcribed to the greeks in their gymnaſia, and in their military and political occupations, of which thoſe ſacred bands of lovers were the natural conſequences. I am far from defending the depravity of manners, which in time ſprung from the abuſe of theſe inſtitutions, particularly where youth exerciſed naked; but,

but, alas! this abuſe flowed from the character of the people, whoſe warm imagination, and love almoſt to madneſs of every thing beautiful, in which they placed the ſupreme enjoyment of the gods, rendered ſuch diſorders inevitable. Had theſe been privately performed, they would have been ſtill more pernicious, as the hiſtory of all nations in warm climates, or of luxurious manners, ſufficiently proves. Thus public inſtitutions, and laudable aims, gave vent to the flame, that raged within: and thus it came under the coercive inſpection of the laws, which employed it as an active engine for the purpoſes of the ſtate.

Laſtly. As triple Greece, ſituate in two quarters of the Globe, was divided into many tribes and ſtates; the moral culture, that appeared in various places, muſt have been genetic to each tribe, and political in ſuch different ways, that this circumſtance alone is ſufficient, to explain the happy progreſs of grecian manners. The ſtates of Greece were connected only by the gentleſt bands; a common religion and language, the oracles, the games, the tribunal of amphictyons, &c.; or by deſcent and colonization; and laſtly by the remembrance of ancient common enterprizes, poetry, and national fame: no deſpot compelled any farther union; and even their common perils for a long time paſſed over without deſtructive conſequences. Hence each tribe drew from the ſource of culture what it eſteemed proper, and watered itſelf from what rivulet it thought fit. And this it did according to it's wants; though principally under the guidance of ſome ſupe-

riour men, whom forming Nature ſent. Even among the kings of Greece there were worthy ſons of the ancient heroes, who had advanced with the times, and rendered not leſs ſervice to their people by good laws, than their fathers had done by their celebrated valour. Thus, excepting the firſt founders of colonies, Minos was particularly eminent among royal legiſlators, who formed to war his valiant cretans, the inhabitants of a mountainous iſland, and was a pattern in aftertimes for Lycurgus. He was the firſt, that checked the pirates, and gave ſecurity to the Egean ſea; the firſt general founder of morals by ſea and land. That ſeveral monarchs reſembled him in being the authors of good inſtitutions, appears from the hiſtories of Athens, Syracuſe, and other kingdoms. But, it muſt be confeſſed, the activity of mankind in moral cultivation, as connected with the ſtate, aſſumed a very different appearance, when moſt of the grecian monarchies were converted into republics: a revolution, certainly one of the moſt memorable in all the hiſtory of mankind. It was not poſſible in any country but Greece, where a number of individual nations had continued to cheriſh the remembrance of their origin and race, even under their kings. Every people conſidered itſelf as a diſtinct political body, which poſſeſſed the ſame right to form it's own inſtitutions as it's wandering anceſtors: none of the grecian tribes were ſold at the will of an hereditary ſucceſſion of kings. From this it does not follow, that the new government was better than the old: almoſt every where the principal and moſt powerful perſons ruled inſtead

ſtead of a king, ſo that in many cities there was leſs order, and an inſupportable oppreſſion of the people: yet thus the die was caſt, and mankind, as emerging from a ſtate of pupillage, learned to think for themſelves concerning their political conſtitution. Accordingly the era of the grecian republics was the firſt ſtep of the human mind toward manhood, reſpecting the important queſtion, how men ſhould govern men. All the miſtakes and errours of the governments of Greece are to be conſidered as the eſſays of youth, which commonly learns to be wiſe only from misfortune.

Thus in many ſtates and colonies, that had become free, men of wiſdom roſe up, and acted as the guardians of the people. They ſaw the evils under which their fellow-citizens ſuffered, and turned their thoughts to a conſtitution, erected on the laws and manners of the community. Moſt of theſe ancient grecian ſages filled ſome public office, were governors of the people, counſellors of the king, or leaders of armies: for from ſuch men of rank alone could proceed a political culture, exerting effective influence on the people. Even Lycurgus, Draco, Solon, were of the firſt families of the ſtate, or members of adminiſtration: in their times the evils of ariſtocracy, and the diſcontents of the people, had reached the higheſt pitch; and hence aroſe the ready reception of the improved inſtitutions they propoſed. Theſe men will inherit immortal praiſe, for that, poſſeſſing the confidence of the people, they declined the ſovereign power, both for themſelves and their poſterity; and applied all their induſtry,

all

all their knowledge of men and of the world, to a commonwealth, that is, to the ſtate as a ſtate. If their firſt attempts were far from the ſummit of perfection, far from being eternal maſterpieces of human inſtitutions; ſuch they were not to be: their excellence was local, and their authors were frequently compelled againſt their will, to adapt them to the manners of the community, and it's radical evils. Lycurgus had a freer ſcope than Solon; but he recurred to times too remote, and founded a ſtate on ſuch principles, as if the World were to perſevere eternally in the heroic age of uncultivated youth. He gave perpetuity to his laws without waiting for their effects; and to a mind like his it would have been the ſevereſt puniſhment, could he have looked through all the periods of grecian hiſtory, to perceive the conſequences they occaſioned to his own ſtate, and ſometimes to all Greece, partly by their abuſe, and partly by too long continuance. The laws of Solon were injurious in another way. He himſelf outlived their ſpirit: the evil conſequences of popular government he foreſaw, and they remained evident to the wiſeſt and beſt of his city, even to the laſt gaſp of Athens *. But this is ſome time or other the fate of all human inſtitutions, particularly the moſt difficult, thoſe that concern countries and people. Time and nature alter every thing; and ſhall not men's way of life be changed? With every new

* See Xenophon on the Commonwealth of the Athenians; alſo Plato, Ariſtotle, &c.

generation

generation a new way of thinking ariſes, however government and education may adhere to their ancient modes. New wants and dangers, new advantages of conqueſt, wealth, or increaſing dignity, and even increaſe of population, augment the tide: and how can yeſterday remain today? or the ancient law be an eternal law? The law is retained, but probably in appearance only; and, alas! chiefly in it's abuſes, the ſacrifice of which appears too ſevere to ſelfiſh and indolent men. This was the caſe with the laws of Lycurgus, Solon, Romulus, and Moſes, and all that outlived their day.

Hence it is very affecting to hear the words of theſe legiſlators in their later years: they are commonly the voice of complaint; for they lived long, they outlived themſelves. Such are the words of Moſes and of Solon, in the few fragments we have of them: nay, if we exclude mere moral maxims, almoſt all the reflections of the grecian ſages have a plaintive tone. They perceived the mutable deſtiny and happineſs of men, which the laws of nature confine to narrow limits, ſadly perplexed by their own conduct, and lamented it. They lamented the tranſitorineſs of human life, and blooming youth; and they contemplated old age, often poor and diſeaſed, but always weak and deſpiſed. They lamented the ſucceſs of the impudent, and the ſorrows of the well-meaning: but they omitted not to recommend in an affecting tone to the members of their community the moſt effectual weapons againſt theſe, prudence and a ſound underſtanding, moderation of the paſſions and quiet induſtry, ſimplicity

plicity and true friendſhip, ſtedfaſtneſs and inflexibility of mind, reverence for the gods and love of our country. Even in the remains of the later grecian comedies theſe plaintive tones of gentle humanity are heard *.

Thus in ſpite of all the evil conſequences, and in part horrible, to the helots, pelaſgians, colonies, foreigners, and enemies, that proceeded from many grecian ſtates; we cannot overlook the noble ſublimity of that public ſpirit, which flouriſhed, in it's day, in Lacedemon, Athens, Thebes, and, in a certain degree, in every part of Greece. It is unqueſtionably true, that, as it flowed not from particular laws of one particular man, it flouriſhed not equally at all times, and in every member of the ſtate: yet it flouriſhed among the greeks, as even their unjuſt and jealous wars, their ſevereſt oppreſſions, and the moſt perfidious traitors to their civic virtue, evince. The monumental inſcription of the ſpartans that fell at Thermopylæ,

'Traveller, tell at Sparta,
'That here we lie, ſlain in obedience to her laws,'

will for ever remain the fundamental principle of ſupreme political virtue; which, after the lapſe of two thouſand years, gives us only to lament, that once indeed it was the maxim of a few ſpartans, with regard to ſome rigid patrician laws of a narrow country, but never became a principle for the pure laws of collective mankind. The principle it-

* Of this elſewhere.

ſelf

ſelf is the higheſt, that men could invent and practice for their liberty and happineſs. The ſame may be ſaid of the conſtitution of Athens, though it ſtruck into a very different path. For if enlightening the people with regard to thoſe things, in which they are moſt concerned, ought to be the object of a political eſtabliſhment, Athens was unqueſtionably the moſt enlightened city throughout the whole World. Neither Paris nor London, neither Rome nor Babylon, and ſtill leſs Memphis, Jeruſalem, Pekin, or Benares, can enter into competition with it. Now as *patriotiſm*, and an *enlightened mind*, are the two poles, round which all the moral cultivation of mankind revolves, Athens and Sparta will ever be remembered as the two grand ſtages, on which human politics firſt exerciſed themſelves in this career with youthful animation. The other grecian ſtates for the moſt part only followed theſe two grand examples; and a few, that refuſed to copy the conſtitutions of Athens and Lacedæmon, fell a prey to conqueſt.

The philoſophy of hiſtory, however, conſiders not ſo much what was actually done by feeble men on theſe two points of the Earth, during the ſhort period of their operations, as what followed from the principles of their inſtitutions with regard to mankind in general. In ſpite of all their faults, the names of Lycurgus and Solon, Miltiades and Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, Cimon, Phocion, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Ageſilaus, Agis, Cleomenes, Dion, Timoleon, and others, will live with eternal fame; while Alcibiades, Conon, Pauſanias, Lyſander, men equally

ly great, will be mentioned with reproach, as ſubverters of the public ſpirit of Greece, or traitors to their country. Without an Athens, even the modeſt virtue of Socrates could ſcarcely have produced ſuch bloſſoms as it afterwards did in ſome of his ſcholars: for Socrates was no more than a citizen of Athens, and all his wiſdom was only the wiſdom of an athenian citizen, which he propagated in domeſtic dialogues. With regard to the wiſdom of common life we are indebted to Athens alone for the moſt and beſt in all ages.

As little can be ſaid of practical virtues, we muſt yet beſtow a few words on inſtitutions, of which only an athenian popular government was ſuſceptible, the forum and the ſtage. Orators before a tribunal, and particularly on affairs of ſtate, where immediate deciſion follows, are dangerous inſtruments; and their bad conſequences are ſufficiently obvious in the hiſtory of Athens. Yet as they preſume a people, that have knowledge, or at leaſt are capable of having knowledge of every public buſineſs, that is brought before them; the athenian people, notwithſtanding all their parties, remain alone in hiſtory, being ſcarcely equalled even by the romans. For the buſineſs itſelf, to elect or try a general, to decide on peace and war, life and death, and every public affair of ſtate, a turbulent mob was certainly unfit: yet the conduct of this buſineſs, and all the arts employed in it, opened even the ears of the unruly mob, and gave them that enlightened mind, that propenſity to political converſation, with which all the aſiatic nations were unacquainted.

unacquainted. Eloquence, thus exerciſed before the public, roſe to ſuch a height, as it no where attained, except in Greece and Rome, and as it never can or will reach again, till perhaps popular oratory is united with the univerſal diffuſion of true knowledge. The object is unqueſtionably great; though in Athens the means fell ſhort of the end. It was the ſame with the athenian ſtage. This exhibited plays for the people, popular, ſublime, and ingenious: but with Athens it's hiſtory is no more; as the narrow circle of determinate ſubjects, paſſions, and views, to work upon it's people, could ſcarcely revive for the mixed multitude of another race, and a different political conſtitution. The moral cultivation of the greeks, therefore, muſt never be meaſured, either in their public hiſtory, or in their orators and dramatic poets, by the ſtandard of abſtract morality; for in neither of them was ſuch a ſtandard followed *. Hiſtory ſhows, how the greeks, in every period, were all, that their ſituation permitted, both of good and of bad. The orator ſhows, with what eyes he viewed parties in the purſuit of his profeſſion, and with what colours it was neceſſary to his purpoſe to portray them. The dramatic poet brought on the ſtage ſuch characters as preceding times afforded, or as it ſuited his object to exhibit to his particular audience. Concluſions reſpecting the morality or immorality of the people at large drawn from theſe

* See the introduction to Gillies's Tranſlation of the Orations of Lyſias and Iſocrates, with other ſimilar works, in which Greece is eſtimated from it's orators and poets.

would

would be groundleſs: yet no one will diſpute, that the greeks, at certain periods, and in certain cities, were the moſt ingenious, gay, and enlightened people of their world, according to the circle of objects then before them. The citizens of Athens afforded generals, orators, ſophiſts, judges, ſtateſmen, and artiſts, as education, propenſity, choice, fate, or accident, directed; and in one greek many of the beſt and nobleſt qualities were often united.

CHAPTER V.

Scientific Acquirements of the Greeks.

It is doing juſtice to no people upon Earth, to judge of them by a foreign ſtandard of ſcience: yet this has been done to the greeks, as well as to many aſiatic nations, and they have often been unjuſtly loaded both with blame and praiſe. The greeks were unacquainted with any ſpeculative ſyſtem of doctrines reſpecting God and the human ſoul: the inquiries concerning them were private opinions, in which every philoſopher was free, ſo long as he obſerved the religious rites of his country, and rendered himſelf obnoxious to no political party. In Greece the human mind had on this point, as it generally has, to fight it's way; and in this at length it was crowned with ſucceſs.

The grecian philoſophy proceeded from ancient tales of the gods and theogonies; and much indeed was ſpun from them by the fine invention of the

greeks. The fictions of the births of the gods, of the conflicts of the elements, of the love and hatred of beings towards each other, were ſo improved in various directions by their different ſchools, that we may almoſt ſay, they had advanced as far as ourſelves, when we invent coſmogonies without the aid of natural hiſtory. Nay in ſome reſpects they advanced farther; as their minds were more at liberty, and no preconceived hypotheſis biaſſed them in their courſe. Even the numbers of Pythagoras, and other philoſophers, are bold attempts, to aſſociate the knowledge of things with the ſimpleſt idea of the human mind, a clearly conceived magnitude: but as natural philoſophy and mathematics were then in their infancy, the attempt was premature. Yet, like the ſyſtems of many other grecian philoſophers, it will ever excite in us a degree of veneration; as theſe in general, each in it's particular ſphere, were the fruits of profound reflection and extenſive comprehenſion: many of them are founded on truths and obſervations, of which, perhaps to the advantage of ſcience, we have ſince loſt ſight. That none of the ancient philoſophers conceived god, for inſtance, as a being diſtinct from the World, or a pure metaphyſical monad, but all adhered to the idea of a ſoul of the World, was perfectly conſonant to the childhood of human philoſophy, and perhaps will for ever remain conſonant to it. It is to be lamented, that we are acquainted with the boldeſt opinions of philoſophers only from mutilated accounts, but not ſyſtematically from their own works: ſtill more is it to be regretted, however, that we are diſinclined

to place ourſelves in their times, and eager to intrude on them our way of thinking. In general ideas every nation has it's particular way of ſeeing, founded for the moſt part on the mode of expreſſion, that is to ſay, on tradition: and as the philoſophy of the greeks aroſe from poems and allegories, this gave to their abſtract ideas a peculiar ſtamp, to themſelves perfectly clear. Even the allegories of Plato are not merely ornamental: their images are like the claſſical ſentences of old times, ingenious developements of ancient poetical traditions.

The inquiries of the greeks were principally directed to the philoſophy of man and morals; as the time in which they lived, and their political conſtitution, led them particularly this way. Natural hiſtory, mathematics, and natural philoſophy, were yet in their rudiments; and the implements of modern diſcovery were not invented. Every thing, on the other hand, attracted them toward the nature and manners of mankind. This was the predominant tone of the poetry, hiſtory, and political inſtitutions of the greeks: every citizen felt the neceſſity of knowing his fellow-citizens, and was occaſionally liable to be choſen to public offices, which he could not refuſe to fill: the paſſions and active powers of men had then freer play, they ſuffered not even the retired philoſopher to paſs unnoticed: to govern men, or to perform the part of an effective member of ſociety, was the predominant propenſity of every ambitious grecian ſoul. It is nothing wonderful, therefore, that the philoſophy of the metaphyſician ſhould be occupied

on

on the improvement of morals or the ſtate, as we find in Pythagoras, Plato, and even Ariſtotle. As citizens they had no call to found ſtates: Pythagoras was not as Lycurgus, Solon, and others, a ſovereign, or an archon: and the greater part of his philoſophy was ſpeculative, bordering even on ſuperſtition. Yet in his ſchool were educated men, whoſe influence on the ſtates of Græcia Magna was very great; and the ſociety of his diſciples, if fate had allowed it longer duration, would probably have been the moſt efficacious, as it certainly was a very pure engine for the improvement of mankind *. But even this ſtep of a man far ſuperiour to the age in which he lived was premature: the wealthy, ſybaritiſh cities of Græcia Magna, and their tyrants, deſired no ſuch cenſors of morals, and the pythagoreans were martyred.

It is an often repeated encomium, though in my opinion exaggerated, of the benevolent Socrates, that he was the firſt and chief, who called philoſophy from Heaven down to Earth, and imparted to man the boon of morality. This encomium at moſt is valid only with regard to the perſon of Socrates, and the narrow circle of his own life. Long before him there were ſages, who had actively inculcated morals upon mankind; as this was the diſtinguiſhing character of grecian lore, even from the fabulous Orpheus †. Pythagoras, too, laid much more

* See the hiſtory of this ſociety in Meiners's *Geſchichte der Wiſſenſchaften in Griechenland und Rom*, 'Hiſtory of the Sciences in Greece and Rome,' Vol. I.

† Meæ noctes—de uno maximè illo verſu Homeri quærunt,

more extenſive foundations for the improvement of men's morals by his diſciples, than Socrates was capable of doing by means of all his friends. That Socrates was not fond of ſublime abſtract ſpeculations aroſe from his ſituation, and the circle of his knowledge, though chiefly from the time and his mode of life. The ſyſtems of imagination, without farther natural experiments, were exhauſted; and the grecian wiſdom was become the wordy play of ſophiſts; ſo that it required no great effort, to deſpiſe or throw aſide, what was incapable of being carried to a higher pitch. His demon, his native integrity, and the domeſtic courſe of his life, guarded him againſt the dazzling ſpirit of the ſophiſts; and offered to his philoſophy the proper object of man, which had ſuch beneficial effects on almoſt all with whom he converſed. Theſe effects, however, were promoted by the time, the place, and the circle, in which Socrates lived. Elſewhere the philoſophic citizen would have been a virtuous and enlightened man, yet probably we ſhould never have heard of his name; for no invention, no new doctrine, peculiar to himſelf, marks him in the book of Time; his method and manner of life, the moral cultivation, which he gave himſelf, and endeavoured to impart to others, and more particularly the manner of his death, point him out as a pattern to mankind.

Much is requiſite to form a Socrates; above all

quem Socrates præ omnibus ſemper rebus ſibi eſſe cordi dicebat; 'Οττι τοι ἐν μεγαροισι κακον τ' αγαθον τε τετυκται.'

Gellius. xiv. 6. F.

the

the valuable talent of being ſatisfied with little, and that exquiſite taſte for moral beauty, which in himſelf he ſeems to have refined into a ſort of inſtinct: yet let us not exalt this modeſt worthy man above the ſphere, in which Providence fixed him. He educated few ſcholars completely worthy of himſelf: becauſe his wiſdom belonged as it were to the houſhold ſtuff of his own life; and his excellent method was eaſily ſuſceptible of degenerating, in the mouths of his immediate diſciples, into jeſt and ſophiſtry, if the ironical queſtioner poſſeſſed not the ſame ſtamp of heart and mind as Socrates. Even if we impartially compare his two moſt celebrated diſciples, Xenophon and Plato, we ſhall find, to uſe his own modeſt expreſſion, that he was only the midwife of their natural genius; whence they appear ſo unlike each other. The moſt diſtinguiſhed parts of their works evidently flow from their own way of thinking; and the beſt thanks they could pay the teacher they loved, were to exhibit his moral picture. It was much to be wiſhed, however, that the ſcholars of Socrates could have infuſed his ſpirit into all the laws and political inſtitutions of Greece: but hiſtory ſhows, that this was not done. He lived at the period, when Athens had attained her higheſt poliſh; but at the ſame time the grecian ſtates were moſt at variance with each other: this conjunction of circumſtances could not fail to be ſucceeded by unfortunate times, and the declenſion of manners; and theſe ſoon effected the downfal of grecian liberty. Againſt theſe they were not protected by ſocratic wiſdom, which was too

pure and delicate, to ſway the fate of a people. Xenophon, the ſtateſman and general, pointed out defects in the conſtitution, which he poſſeſſed not the power to amend. Plato created an ideal republic, which was no where carried into practice, and leaſt of all in the court of Dionyſius. In ſhort, the philoſophy of Socrates was more beneficial to mankind, than to Greece; and this is unqueſtionably it's nobleſt praiſe.

Far different was the ſpirit of Ariſtotle, the moſt acute, firm, and dry, perhaps, that ever guided the ſtyle. His philoſophy, indeed, is more the philoſophy of the ſchools, than of common life; particularly in thoſe of his writings which we poſſeſs, and in the manner in which they are uſed: but abſtract reaſon and ſcience have gained ſo much the more in him, ſo that in this ſphere he ſtands alone as the monarch of the times. That the ſchoolmen, for the moſt part, attended to his metaphyſics only, was not the fault of Ariſtotle, but their own; yet theſe incredibly ſharpened human reaſon. They put into the hands of barbarous nations implements, by which the obſcure dreams of fancy and tradition were firſt converted into ſophiſms, and thus gradually deſtroyed themſelves. His better works, however, his natural hiſtory and phyſics, ethics, politics, poetics, and rhetoric, ſtill want much happy application. It is to be regretted, that his hiſtorical works are loſt, and that of his natural hiſtory we have only abſtracts. Let thoſe, however, who deny the greeks the ſpirit of pure ſcience, read Ariſtotle and Euclid, writers,

never

never excelled in their kind: then, too, it was the merit of Plato and Ariſtotle, to awaken the ſpirit of natural knowledge and mathematics, which in greatneſs ſoars beyond all moraliſing, and labours for all ages. Many of their ſcholars promoted aſtronomy, botany, anatomy, and other ſciences; while Ariſtotle himſelf, with his natural hiſtory alone, formed the baſis of an edifice, in the completion of which ages yet to come will find employment. In Greece were laid the foundations of every thing knowable in ſcience, as of every thing beautiful in form: alas! that fate has allowed us ſo little of the works of it's profoundeſt philoſophers! What remains is excellent: but, perhaps, the moſt excellent is gone.

It will not be expected of me to go through the ſeparate ſciences of mathematics, phyſic, natural knowledge, and all the fine arts, to give a ſtring of names of thoſe, who, as inventors or improvers, have ſerved as the groundwork of every thing ſcientific in them to all ſubſequent ages. It is univerſally known, that Aſia and Egypt have given us, properly ſpeaking, no true form of knowledge in any art or ſcience: for ſuch we have to thank the acute methodical ſpirit of the greeks alone. Now as it is a determinate form of knowledge, that effects their augmentation or improvement in future times, we are indebted to the greeks for the baſis of almoſt all our ſciences. Let them have appropriated to themſelves as many foreign ideas as they pleaſed, ſo much the better for us: it is ſufficient that they methodiſed them, and aimed at clearer know-

ledge. In this the various ſchools of the greeks were what their ſeveral republics were in politics, emulous powers contending together for one common object: without this diviſion ſo much would not have been done for ſcience even in Greece. The ionian, italian, and athenian ſchools, though they had one common language, were parted by lands and ſeas: each therefore could ſeparately take root, and when it was engrafted, or tranſplanted, bore ſo much the finer fruit. No one of the early philoſophers was paid by the ſtate, or even by his ſcholars: he thought for himſelf; he invented from love of ſcience, or from love of fame. Thoſe whom he inſtructed were not children, but youths, or men; and frequently men who bore the moſt important offices in the ſtate. Men did not write then for annual fairs of literature; but their thoughts were ſo much the more perſeveringly and profoundly employed: at the ſame time, in the fine climate of Greece, the temperate philoſopher could think undiſturbed by care, as little was required for his ſupport.

In the mean time we muſt not here refuſe monarchy the praiſe it deſerves. No one of the grecian republics was capable of affording Ariſtotle that aſſiſtance in natural hiſtory, which he received from his royal ſcholar: ſtill leſs could the ſciences that require leiſure and expenſe, as mathematics, aſtronomy, &c., have made the advancement they did in Alexandria, without the eſtabliſhments founded by the Ptolemies. To theſe we are indebted for an Euclid, an Eratoſthenes, Apollonius Pergæus, Ptolemy,

lemy, and others, who laid the foundations of ſciences, on which not only the preſent ſyſtem of learning reſts, but, in a certain degree, the government of the whole World. That the period of grecian eloquence and popular philoſophy ended with the republics, was not without it's advantages: theſe had born their fruits; but other germes of ſcience, ſpringing from grecian minds, were neceſſary to the human underſtanding. We readily forgive the egyptian Alexandria for the inferiority of her poets*; ſhe made ample compenſation in good aſtronomers and mathematicians. Poets form themſelves: diligence and practice alone make accurate obſervers.

There are three ſubjects, in particular, to which the grecian philoſophy opened the path, in a manner that could ſcarcely have been accompliſhed in any other part of the World: language, hiſtory, and the arts. The language of the greeks received ſuch abundant richneſs and beauty from their poets, orators, and philoſophers, that in later times the inſtrument itſelf, when incapable of being applied to ſuch brilliant ends in public life, attracted no inconſiderable attention. Hence the art of the grammarians, who were in part actual philoſophers. Time indeed has robbed us of the greater number of theſe writers; though the ſenſe of this loſs is deadened by that of many greater: their influence, however, has not been obliterated; for the ſtudy of the greek language emitted ſparks, at which that of the

* See Heyne on the Genius of the Age of the Ptolemies, in *Opuſc. acad.*, 'Academical Tracts,' Part I, p. 76 and foll.

latin,

latin, and of the philoſophy of language in general, caught fire. Nay hence ſprung the ſtudy of the oriental dialects of Hither Aſia: for it was from the greek, that men learned to reduce the hebrew, arabic, and other languages, to rules.

In like manner a philoſophy of the arts was thought of no where but in Greece; where, from a happy impulſe of nature, and a ſure habitual taſte, poets and artiſts carried into practice a philoſophy of the beautiful, before it's rules were analyzed. Thus from the aſtoniſhing emulation in epic and dramatic poetry, and in public ſpeaking, a criticiſm was neceſſarily formed, to which ours can ſcarcely be compared. A few late fragments of it only, the writings of Ariſtotle excepted, have come down to us; but theſe evince the refined penetration of the grecian critics.

Laſtly, the philoſophy of hiſtory belongs particularly to Greece; for the greeks alone poſſeſſed what might properly be called hiſtory. The orientals had their genealogies and fables; the northern nations, their tales; others, their poems: the greeks, in proceſs of time, formed from tales, poems, fables, and genealogies, the ſound body of a narrative, through all the members of which the current of vitality flows. Here, too, it's ancient poetry led the way, for it is not eaſy to relate a fable in a more pleaſing manner, than was done in the epic poem: the diviſion of the ſubject into rhapſodies introduced ſimilar pauſes in hiſtory, and the long hexameter was well adapted ſoon to form the melody of hiſtorical proſe. Thus Herodotus ſucceeded

ceeded Homer; and the ſubſequent hiſtorians of the commonwealths introduced their colouring, the ſpirit of republican oratory, into their narration. Now as with Thucydides and Xenophon the grecian hiſtory proceeded from Athens, and it's writers were themſelves ſtateſmen and generals, their hiſtory naturally became a collection of facts and reaſonings upon them, without their ſeeking to give them this philoſophical form. The public orations, the intricacy of grecian affairs, the animated appearance of events and their motives, prompted ſuch a form; and we may confidently aſſert, that no philoſophical hiſtory would have been known to the World, had the grecian republics never exiſted. In proportion as the military art and the ſcience of politics developed themſelves, the philoſophical ſpirit of hiſtory was rendered more elaborate; till at length it became in the hands of Polybius almoſt the ſciences of war and politics themſelves. In models of this kind ſubſequent ſpeculators had ample materials for their remarks; and the Dionyſiuſes had certainly ampler opportunities to acquire the rudiments of hiſtory, than a chineſe, a jew, or even a roman could have poſſeſſed.

As we thus find the greeks ſo rich and ſucceſsful in every exerciſe of the mind, in poetical, oratorical, philoſophical, ſcientific, and hiſtorical works; why, Fate of the times, haſt thou deprived us of ſo many of them? Where are the Amazonia of Homer, his Thebaid and Ireſione, his Iambics, and his Margites? Where are the many loſt pieces of Archilochus, Simonides, Alcæus, and Pindar; the eighty

eighty three tragedies of Æſchylus, the hundred and eighteen of Sophocles; and the innumerable performances of tragic, comic, and lyric poets, the greateſt philoſophers, the moſt indiſpenſable hiſtorians, the moſt memorable mathematicians, natural philoſophers, and others, that have periſhed? For one work of Democritus, Ariſtotle, Theophraſtus, Polybius, or Euclid; for one tragedy of Æſchylus, Sophocles, and ſo many others; for one comedy of Ariſtophanes, Philemon, or Menander; for one ode of Sappho or Alcæus; for the loſt natural and political hiſtory of Ariſtotle, or for the five and thirty books of Polybius; who would not give a mountain of modern writings, his own the firſt in the heap, to heat the baths of Alexandria for a twelvemonth? But the iron foot of deſtiny takes a far different courſe, regardleſs of the immortality of individual performances in ſcience, or in art. The grand Propylæum of Athens, all the temples of the gods, thoſe magnificent palaces, walls, coloſſuſes, columns, ſeats, aqueducts, ſtreets, altars, which the ancients erected for eternity, have fallen beneath the fury of the conqueror; and ſhould a few feeble leaves of human induſtry and reflection be ſpared? Rather is it a ſubject of wonder, that we have ſo many; too many, perhaps, for us to have uſed them all as they ought to have been uſed. In concluſion, let us now conſider the hiſtory of Greece as a whole, after having thus gone through it's parts: it inſtructively carries it's philoſophy with it, ſtep by ſtep.

CHAPTER VI.

Hiſtory of the Revolutions of Greece.

HOWEVER abundant the revolutions, that embroil the pages of grecian hiſtory, the threads of them lead to a few principal points, the natural laws of which are clear. For,

1. That in the three tracts of land, with their iſlands and peninſulas, which conſtituted Greece, many tribes and colonies, from the higher countries and the ſea, ſhould migrate, from place to place, ſettle, and expel one another, is conformable to the univerſal hiſtory of the ancient world in ſimilar tracts of land and ſea. But here the migration was more animated, as the populous northern mountains, and the extenſive country of Aſia, were near; and the ſpirit of enterpriſe was kept in great activity by a ſeries of adventures, the tales of which were current. This is the hiſtory of Greece for about ſeven hundred years.

2. That different degrees of cultivation, and from different quarters, muſt have come to theſe tribes, follows equally from the nature of the country, and of circumſtances. They ſpread from the north; they paſſed over from different parts of the neighbouring civilized regions, and ſettled in different ways in different places. At length the predominating hellenes gave uniformity to the whole, and ſtamped the character of the grecian language and way of thinking. Now the ſeeds of cultivation, thus

thus introduced, muſt have germinated very differently and unequally in Aſia Minor, in Græcia Magna, and in Greece properly ſo called: but this variety aided the grecian ſpirit by means of tranſplantation and rivalry: for it is an acknowledged fact, both in the hiſtory of plants and animals, that the ſame ſeed does not eternally flouriſh on the ſame ſpot, but produces more perfect and racy fruits, if tranſplanted at proper ſeaſons.

3. The ſeparate ſtates, from originally ſmall monarchies, in time became ariſtocracies, and ſome of them democracies: both were often in danger of falling again under the will of one ruler; the democracies moſt frequently. This, too, is the natural progreſs of political eſtabliſhments in their early youth. The chief people of the tribe thought proper to withdraw themſelves from obedience to the will of a monarch; and, as the people were unable to guide themſelves, they became their guides. But according as the occupation, the ſpirit, and the inſtitutions of the people were, they remained under theſe leaders, or aſſumed a ſhare in the government. The former was the caſe in Lacedæmon; the latter, in Athens. The cauſes of this may be found in the circumſtances and conſtitutions of the two cities. In Sparta the regents ſtrictly watched each other, ſo that no tyrant could ariſe: in Athens the people were more than once decoyed into a tyranny, either avowed or concealed. Both towns, with all they effected, were as natural conſequences of their ſituation, epoch, conſtitution, and circumſtances, as any natural production could be.

4. Several

4. Several republics, pitted as it were more or leſs againſt each other, by common occupations, boundaries, or ſome other intereſt, but ſtill more by martial ſpirit and love of fame, would ſoon find cauſes of quarrel: the moſt powerful firſt; and theſe, when they could, would draw others to their party, till one obtained a preponderance. This was the caſe in the long wars between the juvenile ſtates of Greece, particularly between Lacedæmon and Athens, and latterly Thebes. The wars were carried on with animoſity, rigour, and often barbarity: as all wars will be, in which every citizen and ſoldier takes a common part. They moſtly originated from trifles, or points of honour, as battles among youths generally ariſe: and what appears ſingular, though it is not ſo by any means, every vanquiſhing party, Lacedæmon in particular, ſought to impoſe it's laws and conſtitution on the vanquiſhed, as if theſe would indelibly impreſs on it the marks of defeat. For ariſtocracy is a ſworn enemy to tyranny, as well as to popular government.

5. The wars of the greeks, however, conſidered as to the manner in which they were conducted, were not the mere incurſions of ſavages: in time they developed the whole ſpirit of war and politics, which has ever turned the wheel of events *. Even the greeks knew the neceſſities of a ſtate, and the ſources of it's wealth and power, which they often endea-

* A compariſon of ſeveral nations, in this reſpect, will ariſe from the progreſs of hiſtory.

voured

voured to create, though in a rude way. They underſtood the meaning too of the balance of power between the republics, and the different ranks in the ſtate; of ſecret and open confederacies; of ſtratagems of war; of preventing, abandoning, &c. Both in military and political affairs, the moſt expert of the romans, and of the moderns, have learned from the greeks: for however military manœuvres may change, with change of weapons, times, and the circumſtances of the World; the ſpirit of man, which invents, deceives, conceals it's purpoſes, attacks, defends, advances, retreats, diſcovers the weakneſs of an enemy, and in this way or that avails itſelf of advantages, or abuſes them, will remain at all times the ſame.

6. The war with the perſians makes the firſt grand era in grecian hiſtory. It was occaſioned by the aſiatic colonies, which had been unable to reſiſt the ſpirit of conqueſt of the vaſt oriental monarchy, but, accuſtomed to be free, ſought the earlieſt opportunity, to ſhake off the yoke. That the athenians ſent twenty ſhips to their aid, aroſe from the pride of democracy; for Cleomenes, the ſpartan, had refuſed them aſſiſtance: and with their twenty ſhips they led all Greece into the wildeſt war. When once it had commenced, however, it was a prodigy of valour, that a few inconſiderable ſtates ſhould gain important victories over two great kings of Aſia. But it was no miracle: the perſians were drawn altogether out of their focus; the greeks contended for land, life, and liberty. They fought againſt ſlaviſh barbarians, who had ſhown them, in the example

example of the eretrians, what they had to expect; and therefore neglected nothing, that human wiſdom and valour could perform. The perſians under Xerxes attacked as barbarians: in one hand they brought chains to enſlave; in the other, fire to lay deſolate: but this was not fighting with prudence. Themiſtocles employed merely the advantage of the wind againſt them: and it muſt be confeſſed, that to an unwieldy fleet a contrary wind is a dangerous opponent. In ſhort, the perſians conducted the war with a great force, and much fury; but without ſkill: conſequently the event could not be ſucceſsful. Even had the greeks been defeated, and their whole country laid waſte like Athens; the perſians, from the centre of Aſia, and with ſuch an internal ſtate of the kingdom, could never have retained them in ſubjection; for they found it extremely difficult even to hold Egypt. The ſea was the friend of Greece, as the Delphian oracle ſaid in another ſenſe.

7. But the defeated perſians left behind them in Athens, with their ſpoils and diſgrace, a ſpark, which kindled flames, that deſtroyed all the grecian inſtitutions. This conſiſted of the wealth and glory, the ſplendour and jealouſy, in ſhort all the ingredients of that pride, which followed the war. In Athens the age of Pericles ſoon aroſe; the moſt brilliant ever experienced by a ſtate ſo ſmall: and it was quickly followed, from very natural cauſes, by the unfortunate peloponneſian war, and the two ſpartan; till at length a ſingle victory enabled Philip of Macedon, to throw his chains over all

Greece. Let no one ſay, that an unpropitious deity controls the fate of mankind, and enviouſly ſeeks to caſt them down: men are the malignant demons of each other. As Greece was in thoſe days, could it fail of being an eaſy prey to a conqueror? And whence could this conqueror come, but from the mountains of Macedon? From Perſia, Egypt, Phœnicia, Rome, Carthage, it was ſecure: but near it was an enemy, who griped it in his ſtrong and wily talons. The oracle was here more prudent than the greeks: it philippized; and the whole of the event confirmed the general poſition, 'that a race of united mountaineers, expert in war, and ſeated on the neck of a divided, enfeebled, enervated nation, muſt neceſſarily ſubjugate it, if it purſue it's object with prudence and valour.' This Philip did, and ſeized on Greece, which had long before been vanquiſhed by itſelf. Here the hiſtory of Greece would have terminated, had Philip been a barbarian like Alaric or Sylla: but he was himſelf a greek, and his ſtill greater ſon was the ſame; and thus, even with the loſs of their liberty, the greeks obtained a name in the annals of the World, which few have equalled.

8. The young Alexander, who was ſcarcely twenty years old when he aſcended the throne, and fired with the unchecked ardour of ambition, proceeded to execute the plan, for which his father had made all the neceſſary preparations: he went over into Aſia, and invaded the dominions of the perſian monarch himſelf. This too was an event moſt naturally to be expected. All the expeditions of the perſians againſt Greece by land had paſſed through Thrace

and Macedon; and in conſequence theſe two nations cheriſhed an ancient grudge againſt the people of Perſia. The weakneſs of the perſians, too, was ſufficiently known to the greeks, not only from the ancient battles of Marathon, Platæa, &c., but from the more recent retreat of Xenophon with his ten thouſand greeks. Now whither ſhould the macedonian, the ruler of Greece and generaliſſimo of it's forces, direct his arms, and lead his phalanx, but againſt the wealthy monarchy, which had been deeply decaying internally for a century? The young hero fought three battles, and Aſia Minor, Syria, Phenicia, Egypt, Lybia, Perſia, and India, were his own: nay he might have advanced to the boundaries of the ocean, if his macedonians, more prudent than himſelf, had not compelled him to retreat. Little as all this ſucceſs deſerves the name of miraculous, as little was his death at Babylon the work of envious fate. 'How grand was the conception, from Babylon to rule the World! a world, that extended from the Hindus to Lybia, and even over all Greece as far as the Icarian ſea. How vaſt the idea, to make of all this country a Greece in language, manners, arts, trade, and colonization; and to render Bactra, Suſa, Alexandria, and many other cities, each a new Athens! And behold, the conqueror was cut off in the bloom of his life; and with him died every hope of a new-created grecian world!' Should a man ſay thus to Fate, he would receive for anſwer: 'Let Babylon or Pella be the reſidence of Alexander; let the bactrians ſpeak the language of Greece or of Parthia; if the

ſon of a mortal would execute his projects, let him be temperate, and not drink himſelf to death.' This Alexander did, and his kingdom was at an end. It is no wonder, that he deſtroyed himſelf; it is much rather to be wondered, that he, who had long ceaſed to be able to ſupport his good fortune, did not ſooner finiſh his career.

9. The empire was now divided: the vaſt bubble burſt. When and where was the event different under ſimilar circumſtances? The dominions of Alexander were in no reſpect united: they were ſcarcely conſolidated into a whole even in the mind of the conqueror himſelf. The cities he had founded in different places were unable to defend themſelves in their infant ſtate without ſuch a protector as he, much leſs to keep in check the nations, on which they were impoſed. Now as Alexander died in a manner without an heir, how could it be otherwiſe, than that the birds of prey, who had aſſiſted him in his victorious flight, ſhould begin to plunder for themſelves? They quarrelled among each other, and contended together for a long time, till each had eſtabliſhed his neſt on the ſpoils of victory. This has been the caſe with every ſtate formed by ſuch extenſive and ſpeedy conqueſt, and ſupported only by the mind of the conqueror: the nature of various nations and countries ſoon reclaims it's rights; ſo that it can be aſcribed only to the ſuperiority of the poliſhed Greeks over the barbarians, that ſo many forcibly united regions did not ſooner return to their old conſtitutions. Parthia, Bactra, and the countries beyond the Euphrates did this

this firſt: for they lay at too great a diſtance from the centre of an empire, which had nothing to protect it againſt mountaineers of parthian deſcent. Had the Seleucidæ made Babylon their reſidence, as Alexander intended to have done, or their own Seleucia, they would probably have retained more power toward the eaſt; but then, it may alſo be preſumed, they would ſooner have ſunk into enervating luxury. It was the ſame with the aſiatic provinces of the thracian empire: they availed themſelves of the right to which their conquerors had reſorted, and, when the thrones of the companions of Alexander were filled by their feebler ſucceſſors, became ſeparate kingdoms. In all this the invariably recurring natural laws of political hiſtory are conſpicuous.

10. The kingdoms that lay neareſt to Greece were of longeſt duration: and they might have endured ſtill longer, had not the diſputes between themſelves, and more particularly thoſe between the romans and carthaginians, involved them in that ruin, which, proceeding from the queen of Italy, gradually overſpread the whole ſhore of the Mediterranean ſea. Feeble, worn out kingdoms ſtaked their fortunes in an unequal conteſt, againſt which no great ſhare of prudence was requiſite to forewarn them. Still, however, they retained as much of the grecian arts and poliſh, as their rulers and the times would admit. The ſciences flouriſhed in Egypt under the guiſe of learning, as thus only they had been there introduced: like mummies they lay buried in the libraries and muſeums. In the aſiatic

courts the arts became licentious pomp. The kings of Pergamus and Egypt rivalled each other in collecting books: an emulation, which was both injurious and beneficial to all future literature. They collected books and falsified them: and afterwards, with the burning of what was collected a whole world of ancient learning was destroyed at once. It is obvious, that in these things fate no otherwise interfered, than it does in all worldly events, which it leaves to the wise, or foolish, yet ever natural, conduct of men. When the man of letters laments over a lost book of antiquity, how many things of more importance have we to lament, which have followed the invariable course of fate! The history of the successors of Alexander particularly claims our notice; not only because it involves so many causes of the fall or preservation of empires, but as a melancholy pattern of kingdoms founded on foreign acquisitions, as well of territory, as of sciences, arts, and cultivation.

11. That Greece in such a state could never more regain it's pristine splendour, needs no demonstration: the period of it's bloom had long been over. Many vain rulers, indeed, laboured to raise up grecian freedom: but it was an empty labour for a freedom without spirit, a body without a soul. Athens never ceased to idolize it's benefactors; and the arts, as well as declamations on philosophy and science, maintained themselves in this seat of the general cultivation of Europe, as long as it was possible; but prosperity and devastation continued to alternate with each other. The little states were strangers

ſtrangers to harmony, and the principles of mutual ſupport, though they formed the ætolian confederacy, and renewed the achaian league. Neither the prudence of Philopœmen, nor the rectitude of Aratus, reſtored the ancient times of Greece. As the declining Sun, ſurrounded by the vapours of the horizon, aſſumes a greater and more romantic appearance; ſo did the political ſtate of Greece at this period: but the beams of the ſetting luminary no longer impart meridian warmth, and the politics of dying Greece remained ineffective. The romans came upon them as cajoling tyrants, the judges of all the differences in the country to their own advantage; and ſcarcely any barbarians could have acted worſe, than Mummius in Corinth, Sylla in Athens, and Æmilius in Macedon. The romans long continued to rob Greece of every thing, that could be carried away; till at length they reſpected it juſt as much as men reſpect a plundered corpſe. They paid flatterers there, and ſent thither their ſons, to ſtudy in the ſacred paths of the ancient philoſophers the ſophiſms of wordy pedants. At length ſucceeded the goths, the chriſtians, and the turks, who put a complete end to the empire of the grecian divinities, which had been long ſunk in decrepitude. They are fallen, the great gods, the olympian Jupiter and athenian Pallas, the Apollo of Delphi and the Juno of Argos: their temples are ruins, their ſtatues heaps of ſtone, and even their fragments may now be ſought in vain *. They are vaniſhed

* See the travels of Spon, Stuart, Chandler, Riedeſel, and others.

from the face of the Earth, ſo that it is difficult to conceive the ſway their faith once held, and the wonders it effected, among the moſt ingenious of all people. As theſe moſt beautiful idols of the human imagination have fallen, will the leſs beautiful fall like them? and for what will they make way; for other idols?

12. Græcia Magna, though in a different vortex, experienced at laſt a ſimilar fate. The moſt flouriſhing, populous cities, in the fineſt climate of the Earth, founded under the laws of Zaleucus, Charondas, and Diocles, and taking the lead of moſt of the grecian provinces in civilization, ſcience, arts, and commerce, were not, it is true, in the way of the perſians, or of Philip; and in conſequence maintained themſelves longer than their european and aſiatic ſiſters: but the period of their deſtiny arrived. Involved in various wars between Rome and Carthage, they at length fell, and ruined Rome by their manners, as Rome had ruined them by her arms. There lie their beautiful and ſpacious ruins, lamentably deſolated by earthquakes and volcanoes, but ſtill more by the rage of man*. The nymph Parthenope mourns; the Ceres of Sicily ſeeks her temple, and can ſcarcely find again her golden plains.

* See the travels of Riedeſel, Howel, and others.

CHAPTER VII.

General Reflections on the History of Greece.

We have considered the history of this celebrated region in several points of view, as it is in some measure a general basis for a philosophy of history in all countries. The greeks not only remained free from any intermixture with foreign nations, so that their progress has been entirely their own; but they so perfectly filled up their period, and passed through every stage of civilization, from it's slightest commencement to it's completion, that no other nation can be compared with them. The people of the continent have either stopped at the rudiments of civilization, and unnaturally perpetuated them by laws and customs; or become a prey to conquest, before they had advanced beyond them: the blossom withered before it was blown. Greece, on the contrary, enjoyed it's full time: it formed every thing it was capable of forming, and a happy combination of circumstances aided it in it's progress to perfection. On the continent undoubtedly it would soon have fallen a victim to some conqueror, like it's asiatic brethren: had Darius and Xerxes accomplished their designs, the age of Pericles would never have appeared. Or had a despot ruled over the greeks, he would soon have become himself a conqueror, according to the disposition of all despots, and, as Alexander did, have empurpled distant rivers with grecian blood. Foreign nations would have

have been introduced into their country, and their victories would have diſperſed them through foreign lands. From all this they were protected by the mediocrity of their power, and even their limited commerce, which never ventured beyond the pillars of Hercules and of Fortune. As the botaniſt cannot obtain a complete knowledge of a plant, unleſs he follow it from the ſeed, through it's germination, bloſſoming, and decay; ſuch is the grecian hiſtory to us: it is only to be regretted, that, according to the uſual courſe, it is yet far from having been ſtudied like that of Rome. At preſent it is my place, to indicate, from what has been ſaid, ſome points of view in this important fragment of general hiſtory, which moſt immediately preſent themſelves to the eye of obſervation: and here I muſt repeat the firſt grand principle: *Whatever can take place among mankind, within the ſphere of given circumſtances of time, place, and nation, actually does take place.* Of this Greece affords the ampleſt and moſt beautiful proofs.

In natural philoſophy we never reckon upon miracles: we obſerve laws, which we perceive every where equally effectual, undeviating, and regular. And ſhall man, with his powers, changes, and paſſions, burſt theſe chains of nature? Had Greece been peopled with chineſe, our Greece would never have exiſted: had our greeks been fixed where Darius led the enſlaved eretrians, they would have formed no Athens, they would have produced no Sparta. Behold Greece now: the ancient greeks are no more to be ſeen; nay frequently their country

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no longer appears. If a remnant of their language were not ſtill ſpoken; if marks of their way of thinking, if ruins of their cities and works of art, or at leaſt their ancient rivers and mountains, were not ſtill viſible: it might be ſuppoſed, that Greece was not leſs fabulous, than the iſland of Calypſo, or the gardens of Alcinous. But as the modern greeks have become what they are only by the courſe of time, through a given ſeries of cauſes and effects, ſo did the ancient; and not leſs every other nation upon Earth. The whole hiſtory of mankind is a pure natural hiſtory of human powers, actions, and propenſities, modified by time and place.

This principle is not more ſimple, than it is luminous and uſeful, in treating of the hiſtory of nations. Every hiſtorian agrees with me, that a barren wonder and recital deſerve not the name of hiſtory: and if this be juſt, the examining mind muſt exert all it's acumen on every hiſtorical event, as on a natural phenomenon. Thus in the narration of hiſtory it will ſeek the ſtricteſt truth; in forming it's conceptions and judgment, the moſt complete connexion: and never attempt to explain a thing which is, or happens, by a thing which is not. With this rigorous principle, every thing ideal, all the phantoms of a magic creation, will vaniſh: it will endeavour to ſee ſimply what is: and as ſoon as this is ſeen, the cauſes why it could not be otherwiſe will commonly appear. As ſoon as the mind has acquired this habit in hiſtory, it will have found the way to that ſound philoſophy, which rarely occurs except in natural hiſtory and mathematics.

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This philoſophy will firſt and moſt eminently guard us from attributing the facts, that appear in hiſtory, to the particular hidden purpoſes of a ſcheme of things unknown to us, or the magical influence of inviſible powers, which we would not venture to name in connexion with natural phenomena. Fate reveals it's purpoſes through the events that occur, and as they occur: accordingly, the inveſtigator of hiſtory developes theſe purpoſes merely from what is before him, and what diſplays itſelf in it's whole extent. Why did the enlightened greeks appear in the World? Becauſe greeks exiſted; and exiſted under ſuch circumſtances, that they could not be otherwiſe than enlightened. Why did Alexander invade India? Becauſe he was Alexander, the ſon of Philip; and from the diſpoſitions his father had made, the deeds of his nation, his age and character, his reading of Homer, &c., knew nothing better, that he could undertake. But if we attribute his bold reſolution to the ſecret purpoſes of ſome ſuperiour power, and his heroic achievements to his peculiar fortune; we run the hazard, on the one hand, of exalting his moſt ſenſeleſs and atrocious actions into deſigns of the deity; and, on the other, of detracting from his perſonal courage, and military ſkill; while we deprive the whole occurrence of it's natural form. He who takes with him into natural hiſtory the fairy belief, that inviſible ſylphs tinge the roſe, or hang it's cup with pearly dew-drops, and that little ſpirits of light encaſe themſelves in the body of the glow-worm, or wanton in the peacock's tail, may be an ingenious poet, but will never

never ſhine as a naturaliſt or hiſtorian. Hiſtory is the ſcience of what is, not of what poſſibly may be according to the hidden deſigns of fate.

Secondly. *What is true of one people, holds equally true with regard to the connexion of ſeveral together: they are joined as time and place unites them; they act upon one another, as the combination of active powers directs.*

The greeks have been acted upon by the aſiatics, and the aſiatics reacted upon by the greeks. They have been conquered by romans, goths, chriſtians, and turks: and romans, goths, and chriſtians have derived from them various means of improvement. How are theſe things conſiſtent? Through place, time, and the natural operation of active powers. The phœnicians imparted to them the uſe of letters: but they had not invented letters for them; they imparted them by ſending a colony into Greece. So it was with the hellenes and egyptians; ſo with the greeks that migrated to Bactra; ſo with all the gifts of the muſe, which we have received from their hands. Homer ſung; but not for us: yet as his works have reached us, and are in our poſſeſſion, we could not avoid being inſtructed by him. Had any event in the courſe of time deprived us of theſe, as we have been deprived of many other excellent works, who would accuſe ſome ſecret purpoſe of fate, when the natural cauſe of the loſs was apparent? Let a man take a view of the writings that are loſt, and thoſe that remain, of the works of art that are deſtroyed, and thoſe that are preſerved, with the accounts that are given of their deſtruction

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and preſervation, and venture to point out the rule, which fate has followed in tranſmitting to us theſe, and depriving us of thoſe. Ariſtotle was preſerved in a ſingle copy under ground, other writings as waſte parchments in cheſts and cellars, the humouriſt Ariſtophanes under the pillow of St. Chryſoſtom, who learned from him to compoſe homilies; and thus the whole of the cultivation of our minds has depended preciſely upon the moſt trivial and precarious circumſtances. Now mental cultivation is unqueſtionably a thing of the greateſt importance in the hiſtory of the World: it has thrown almoſt all nations into commotion, and now with Herſchel explores the milky way. Yet on what trifling events has it hinged; the events to which we are indebted for glaſs and a few books! inſomuch, that, but for theſe, we ſhould ſtill perhaps be wandering about in waggons, with our wives and families, like our elder brothers, the immortal Scythians. Had the courſe of things ſo ordered, that we had received mungal letters inſtead of greek, we ſhould now be writing in the mungal manner: yet the Earth would ſtill purſue her grand career of years and ſeaſons, nouriſhing every thing, that lives and acts upon her, according to the divine laws of nature.

Thirdly. *The cultivation of a people is the flower of it's exiſtence; it's diſplay is pleaſing indeed, but tranſitory.*

As man, when he comes into the World, knows nothing, but has all his knowledge to learn; ſo an uncultivated people acquires knowledge from it's own

own practice, or from intercourse with others. But every kind of human knowledge has it's particular circle, that is it's nature, time, place, and periods of life. The cultivation of Greece, for example, grew with time, place, and circumstances, and declined with them. Poetry and certain arts preceded philosophy: where oratory or the fine arts flourished, neither the patriotic virtues, nor martial spirit, could shine with their highest splendour: the orators of Athens displayed the greatest enthusiasm, when the state drew near it's end, and it's integrity was no more.

But all kinds of human knowledge have this in common, that each aims at a point of perfection, which, when attained by a concatenation of fortunate circumstances, it can neither preserve to eternity, nor can it instantly return, but a decreasing series commences. Every perfect work, as far as perfection can be required from man, is the highest of it's kind: nothing, therefore, can possibly succeed it, but mere imitations, or unsuccessful attempts to excel. When Homer had sung, no second Homer in the same path could be conceived: he plucked the flower of the epic garland, and all who followed must content themselves with a few leaves. Thus the greek tragedians chose another track: they ate, as Æschylus says, at Homer's table, but prepared for their guests a different feast. They too had their day: the subjects of tragedy were exhausted, and their successors could do no more, than remould the greatest poets, that is, give them in an inferiour form; for the best, the supremely beautiful

ful form of the grecian drama had already been exhibited in thoſe models. In ſpite of all his morality, Euripides could not rival Sophocles, to ſay nothing of his being able to excel him in the eſſence of his art; and therefore the prudent Ariſtophanes purſued a different courſe. Thus it was with every ſpecies of grecian art, and thus it will be in all nations: the very circumſtance, that the greeks in their moſt flouriſhing periods perceived this law of nature, and ſought not to go beyond the higheſt in ſomething ſtill higher, rendered their taſte ſo ſure, and it's developement ſo various. When Phidias had created his omnipotent Jove, a ſuperiour Jupiter was not within the reach of poſſibility: but the conception was capable of being applied to other gods, and to every god was given his peculiar character: thus this province of art was peopled.

Poor and mean would it be, if our attachment to any object of human culture would preſcribe as a law to alldiſpoſing providence, to confer an unnatural eternity on that moment, in which alone it could take place. Such a wiſh would be nothing leſs, than to annihilate the eſſence of time, and deſtroy the infinitude of all nature. Our youth returns not again: neither returns the action of our mental faculties as they then were. The very appearance of the flower is a ſign, that it muſt fade: it has drawn to itſelf the powers of the plant from the very root; and when it dies, the death of the plant muſt follow. Unfortunate would it have been, could the age, that produced a Pericles and a So-

a Socrates, have been prolonged a moment beyond the time, which the chain of events prescribed for it's duration: for Athens it would have been a perilous, an insupportable period. Equally confined would be the wish, that the mythology of Homer should have held eternal possession of the human mind, the gods of the greeks have reigned to infinity, and their Demosthenes have thundered for ever. Every plant in nature must fade; but the fading plant scatters abroad it's seeds, and thus renovates the living creation. Shakspeare was no Sophocles, Milton no Homer, Bolingbroke no Pericles: yet they were in their kind, and in their situation, what those were in theirs. Let every one, therefore, strive in his place, to be what he can be in the course of things: this he will be, and to be any thing else is impossible.

Fourthly. *The health and duration of a state rest not on the point of it's highest cultivation, but on a wise or fortunate equilibrium of it's active living powers. The deeper in this living exertion it's centre of gravity lies, the more firm and durable it is.*

On what did those ancient founders of states calculate? Neither on lethargic indolence, nor on extreme activity; but on order, and a just distribution of never slumbering, ever vigilant powers. The principle of these sages was genuine human wisdom, learned from nature. Whenever a state was pushed to it's utmost point, though by a man of the greatest eminence, and under the most flattering pretext, it was in danger of ruin, and recovered it's former state only by some happy violence. Thus when

Greece entered the lists with Persia, it was on a dreadful verge: thus when Athens, Lacedæmon, and Thebes, contended together at outrance, the loss of liberty to all Greece ensued. Thus, too, Alexander, with his brilliant victories, erected the edifice of his state on a bubble: he died, the bubble burst, and the edifice was dashed to pieces. How dangerous Alcibiades and Pericles were to Athens their history shows: though it is not less true, that epochs of this kind, particularly if they terminate speedily and happily, display rare effects, and set incredible powers in motion. All the splendour of Greece was created by the active operation of many states and living energies: every thing sound and permanent, on the contrary, in it's taste, and in it's constitution, was produced by a wise and happy equilibrium of it's active powers. The success of it's institutions was uniformly more noble and permanent, in proportion as they were founded on humanity, that is, reason and justice. Here the constitution of Greece affords us an ample field for reflection, in what it contributed by it's inventions and institutions both to the happiness of it's own citizens, and to the welfare of mankind. But for this it is yet too early. We must first take a view of many periods and nations, before we can form conclusions on these subjects with security.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XIV.

WE now approach the ſhore, that brought deſtruction, often terrible, on moſt of the nations we have hitherto conſidered: for the ſpreading flood of devaſtation, that overwhelmed the ſtates of Græcia Magna, Greece itſelf, and all the kingdoms that were formed from the ruins of the throne of Alexander, burſt forth from Rome. Rome deſtroyed Carthage, Corinth, Jeruſalem, and many other flouriſhing cities of Greece and Aſia; as it brought to a melancholy end every thing civilized in the ſouth of Europe, that lay within the reach of it's ſword, particularly it's neighbours Etruria, and the brave Numantia. It reſted not till it attained the ſovereignty over a world of nations, from the Euphrates to the Atlantic ocean, from mount Atlas to the Rhine: at length, breaking over the boundary preſcribed it by fate, the valiant reſiſtance of the northern people, or inhabitants of the mountains, it's internal diſſenſions and luxury, the barbarous pride of it's rulers, the horrible ſway of the ſoldiery, and the fury of uncivilized nations, who ruſhed upon it like the waves of the ſea, brought

it to a lamentable end. The fate of nations was never ſo long and ſo abſolutely dependent on one city, as when Rome poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of the World: and while on this occaſion it diſplayed, on the one hand, all the force of human courage and reſolution, and ſtill more military and political ſkill; on the other, it exhibited in the mighty conteſt vices and barbarities, at which human nature muſt ſhudder, as long as it is capable of feeling the leaſt ſentiment of it's rights. This Rome has become, in a wonderful manner, the fearful, precipitous paſſage to all the cultivation of Europe; for not only were the melancholy remains of the plundered treaſures of all art and ſcience preſerved in it's ruins, but through a ſingular revolution it's language became the inſtrument, by which men learned to make uſe of all thoſe treaſures of antiquity. Even now the latin tongue is the medium of our learned tuition from our early youth; and we, who poſſeſs ſo little of the roman mind and ſpirit, are deſtined to form an acquaintance with the roman ravagers of the World, before we are introduced to the milder manners of more gentle nations, or the principles that conduce to the happineſs of our own country. The names of Marius and Sylla, of Cæſar and Octavius, become familiar to us, before we know any thing of the wiſdom of Socrates, or the inſtitutions of our forefathers. The hiſtory of Rome, likewiſe, as the cultivation of Europe has hinged on it's language, has received political and literary illuſtrations, of which ſcarcely any other can boaſt: for the greateſt minds, that have reflected on hiſtory, have

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reflected on this, and have taken the principles and actions of the romans as the groundwork, on which to develope their own thoughts. Thus we tread the blood-drenched ſoil of roman glory as the ſanctuary of claſſical learning and ancient art, where at every ſtep ſome new object reminds us of the ſunken treaſures of an univerſal empire, never more to return. We conſider the faſces of the conqueror, beneath which innocent nations once groaned, as ſhoots of a lordly cultivation, which was planted among us alſo through cruel events. But before we ſeek a knowledge of this conqueror of the World, we muſt bring an offering to humanity, and caſt at leaſt a look of pity on a neighbouring people, that contributed moſt to the early formation of Rome, but, alas! lay too cloſe in the way of it's conqueſts, and thence experienced a melancholy end.

CHAPTER I.

Etruſcans and Latins.

THE protruding peninſula of Italy lay expoſed from it's ſituation to a number of different ſettlers and inhabitants. As it is joined at it's upper part to the great continent, which extends from Spain and Gaul over Illyria to the Euxine ſea, while it's ſhore lies immediately oppoſite to the coaſts of Illyria and Greece; that, in the times of ancient migration, different tribes of various nations ſhould paſs into it, was inevitable. Above were ſome of illyrian,

others of gallic deſcent: below dwelt auſonians, whoſe origin can be traced no higher: and as with moſt of theſe pelaſgians, and afterwards greeks, nay probably trojans too, intermingled at different times from diverſe parts; Italy may be conſidered, on account of theſe memorable ſtrangers, as a hothouſe, in which ſooner or later ſomething worthy of notice muſt be produced. Many of theſe people came hither not altogether uncivilized: the pelaſgian tribes had their letters, their religion, and their fables: ſo, it is probable, had many of the iberians likewiſe, from their intercourſe with the commercial phœnicians: thus the queſtion was, on what ſpot, and in what manner, the bloſſoms of the country would put forth.

Theſe firſt appeared among the etruſcans, who, from whatever part they came, were one of the moſt early and original people in taſte and cultivation. Their minds were not bent on conqueſt: but on eſtabliſhments, inſtitutions, commerce, arts, and navigation, for which their coaſts were well adapted. They planted colonies throughout almoſt all Italy, as far as Campania, introduced arts, and purſued trade, ſo that a number of the moſt celebrated towns in this country are indebted to them for their origin *. Their civil conſtitution, in which they ſerved as a pattern to the romans themſelves, was far ſuperiour to the governments of barbarians; and

* See Dempſter's *Etrur. Regal.*, 'Regal Etruria, with the Obſervations of Buonaroti, and Supplement of Paſſerius,' Florence, 1723, 1767.

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bears ſo completely the ſtamp of an european ſpirit, that it certainly could not have been borrowed from any african or aſiatic people.

Long before the time of it's deſtruction Etruria was a federated republic of twelve tribes, united on principles, which were not introduced into Greece till a much later period, and then from the preſſure of extreme neceſſity. No ſeparate ſtate could engage in a war, or conclude a peace, without the common conſent. War itſelf they had already formed into an art; by the invention, or uſe of the trumpet, light javelin, pilum, &c., as ſignals of attack, of retreat, of marching, or of fighting in cloſe order. With the ſolemn rights of heralds, which they introduced, they obſerved a ſort of law of war and of nations; as their auguries, and many religious practices, which to us appear mere ſuperſtitions, were evidently engines of their political inſtitutions, through which they may juſtly claim to be conſidered as the firſt people of Italy, that attempted to form an artful alliance between religion and the ſtate. In almoſt all theſe things, they were the tutors of Rome: and if it be undeniable, that ſimilar inſtitutions contributed to the ſtability and greatneſs of the roman power, the romans are indebted principally for this to the etruſcans.

Theſe people purſued navigation likewiſe as an art, at an early period; and maintained, by their colonies or trade, the ſovereignty of the italian coaſts. They were acquainted with architecture and fortification: the tuſcan column, more ancient even than the doric of Greece, derives it's name from

them, and was borrowed from no foreign nation They were fond of chariot-races, theatrical performances, muſic, and even poetry; and had naturalized the pelaſgian fables, as their monuments of art evince. Thoſe remains and fragments of their art, which the protecting realms of the dead have principally tranſmitted to us, ſhow, that they roſe from the rudeſt beginnings; and afterwards, when acquainted with many nations, even with the greeks, were capable of remaining true to their own way of thinking. They have actually a particular ſtyle of art *; and preſerved this, as well as the uſe of their religious fables, even when their liberty was no more †. Thus, too, in good civil laws for both ſexes, and inſtitutions for the cultivation of corn and the vine, the internal ſecurity of commerce, the reception of foreigners, and other things, they appear to have come nearer to the rights of man, than even many of the grecian republics at a much later period: and as their alphabet was the immediate pattern of all thoſe of Europe, we may conſider Etruria as the ſecond nurſery of the cultivation of our quarter of the Globe. It is the more to be regretted,

* See Winkelmann's *Geſchichte der Kunſt*, 'Hiſtory of the Arts,' Vol. I. chap. 3.

† See Heyne on the Nature and Cauſes of the frequent Employment of the Fables and Religion of the Greeks by Etruſcan Artiſts; on the Remains of the Religion of the Country in the Monuments of Etruſcan Art; Etruſcan Antiquity freed from fanciful Interpretations; and the Monuments of Etruſcan Art reſtored to their proper Age and Rank; in *Nov. Commentariis S c. Gotting.* 'The new Memoirs of the Gottingen Society,' Vol. III, and following.

that we have ſo few monuments or accounts of the exertions of this poliſhed and ſkilful people; for an unfriendly accident has deprived us even of the immediate hiſtory of their downfal.

Now to what muſt we aſcribe this flouriſhing ſtate of Etruria? and why, inſtead of equalling that of Greece, did it fade before it reached the point of perfection? Little as we know of the etruſcans, ſtill we perceive in them the grand principle purſued by nature in the forming of nations, limiting them by their internal powers, and their external circumſtances of time and place. They were an european people, more remote from anciently inhabited Aſia, the parent of early civilization. The pelaſgian tribes, too, were half-ſavage wanderers, when they arrived on the different ſhores of Italy; while Greece, on the contrary, lay as a central point in the conflux of nations already civilized. In Italy many nations mingled together, ſo that the etrurian language ſeems to have been a compound of ſeveral *; and thus it enjoyed not the advantage of growing up from an uncontaminated ſeed. The ſingle circumſtance of the Appennines, covered with rude mountaineers, ſtretching through the middle of Italy was ſufficient, to prevent that uniformity of national taſte, on which alone the permanence of a general culture can be founded. Even in later times no country occaſioned more trouble to the romans than Italy: and as ſoon as their ſovereignty was at an end, it returned to it's natural ſtate of

* See the Supplement of Paſſerius, in Dempſter's *Etrur. Regal.*

various

various diviſion. The face of the country with regard to it's mountains and coaſts, and the different hereditary character of it's inhabitants, made this diviſion natural: for even now, when it is the object of politics, to reduce all under one chief, or link all in one chain, Italy has remained the moſt divided country in Europe.

Several nations, likewiſe, ſoon preſſed upon the etruſcans; and as they were more of a commercial than a warlike people, even their more ſkilful tactics were compelled to give way to almoſt every attack of ruder nations. By the gauls they were deprived of their footing in upper Italy, and confined to what may properly be called Etruria; and their colonial towns in Campania became ſubſequently a prey to the ſamnites. As a commercial people addicted to the arts, they could not long ſtand againſt barbarous nations: for arts and commerce introduce luxury, from which their colonies on the moſt delightful ſhores of Italy were by no means free. At length they were fallen upon by the romans, to whom they were unfortunately too near; and whom, in ſpite of their noble reſiſtance, neither their civilization, nor their federal union, could withſtand for ever. By their refinement, indeed, they were already in part enfeebled, while the romans were yet a warlike hardy people: and from their confederation they derived little advantage, as their adverſaries had the art to divide their ſtates, and engage them ſeparately. Thus they were ſubdued one after another, though not without the labour of many years; while in the mean time the

the gauls were making continual incurſions upon Etruria. Preſſed upon by two powerful enemies, they fell a prey to that, which moſt ſyſtematically purſued their ſubjugation: and this was Rome. After the reception of the haughty Tarquins in Etruria, and the ſucceſs of Porſenna, they looked upon this city as their moſt dangerous neighbour: for the humiliations, which Rome had experienced from Porſenna, were ſuch, as it could never forgive. No wonder, that a rude warlike people ſhould overpower a ſoftened commercial nation; that a city firmly united ſhould ſubdue a disjointed confederacy. To prevent Rome from deſtroying it, Rome muſt have been early deſtroyed: and as the good Porſenna refrained from this, his country at length became a prey to the enemy he ſpared.

Thus, that the etruſcans never became wholly greeks in the ſtyle of their arts, is to be accounted for from the time and ſituation in which they flouriſhed. Their poetic mythology was merely the old heavy grecian mythol ogy, into which however they infuſed aſtoniſhing ſpirit and animation. The ſubjects, on which their arts were employed, appear to have been confined to a few religious or civil feſtivities, the key to which we have nearly loſt. Beſides, we know little of theſe people except from funerals, graves, and urns. Etruſcan liberty ſurvived not to the brighteſt era of grecian art, which the conqueſt of the perſians produced; and the ſituation of Etruria denied it any ſimilar native impulſe, to wing it's fame and genius to ſuch a height. Thus it muſt be conſidered as an immature fruit, which,

which, placed in the corner of the garden, could not attain the delicious flavour of it's fellows, enjoying the more genial warmth of the Sun. Fate allotted a later period to the banks of the Arno, in which they were capable of producing more mature and beautiful fruits.

The marſhy ſhores of the Tiber were already deſtined for a ſphere of action, that ſhould include three quarters of the Globe; and the circumſtances of the times prepared this, long before the foundation of Rome. In this region, according to ancient ſtories, landed Evander; as did Hercules alſo with his greeks, and Æneas with his trojans: here, in the centre of Italy, Pallantium was built, and the kingdom of the latins, with Alba Longa, was founded: here, too, was a ſettlement of more early civilization, inſomuch, that ſome, indeed, have admitted a prior Rome, and imagined they have diſcovered the new city to have been erected on the ruins of one more ancient. But the laſt opinion is without foundation: for Rome was probably a colony from Alba Longa, under the direction of two ſucceſsful adventurers; as this undeſirable region would ſcarcely have been choſen in other circumſtances. Let us examine, however, what Rome had here before and around her from the beginning, ſo that, the moment ſhe quitted the breaſt of the wolf, ſhe betook herſelf to war and plunder.

She was wholly ſurrounded by little nations; whence ſhe was ſoon impelled to contend, not for her ſupport alone, but even for her territory. Her early conteſts with the cæninenſes, cruſtumini, antemnates,

temnates, ſabines, camerini, fidenates, veientes, and others, are well known: they rendered Rome, when ſcarcely riſen above the ground, ſtanding thus on the frontiers of ſo many different nations, from the very beginning a kind of fortified camp; and accuſtomed the generals, the ſenate, the knights, and the people, to feſtivals of triumph over plundered countries. Theſe triumphal proceſſions, which Rome borrowed from the neighbouring etruſcans, were the grand lures, that animated this needy ſtate, of confined domains, but populous and warlike, to hoſtile enterpriſes, and foreign incurſions. In vain did the peaceful Numa erect the temples of Janus and Public Faith: in vain did he ſet up terminal gods, and celebrate a boundary feaſt. Theſe peaceable inſtitutions were obeyed only during his life: for Rome, accuſtomed to plunder by the thirty years victories of her firſt ruler, thought ſhe could not pay more acceptable homage to her Jove, than by offering him the ſpoils of war. A renovated martial ſpirit aroſe after this juſt legiſlator; and Tullius Hoſtilius already made war on Alba Longa, the mother of his country. Neceſſarily nothing of this would have taken place, had Rome been built in a different ſituation, or ſpeedily cruſhed by ſome powerful neighbour. But now, as a latin city, ſhe ſoon made her way to the head of the latin confederacy, and at length brought the latins under her yoke; ſhe interfered with the ſabines, till at laſt ſhe ſubjugated them; ſhe learned from the etruſcans, till ſhe became their miſtreſs:

and

and thus ſhe acquired poſſeſſion of her triple boundary.

To theſe early undertakings ſuch kings were requiſite as Rome had, particularly her firſt. It was no fable, that Romulus had been nouriſhed by the milk of a wolf: he was evidently a bold, cunning, hardy adventurer, as his firſt laws and inſtitutions ſhow. His immediate ſucceſſor, Numa, rendered ſome of theſe milder: a clear proof, that they are not to be aſcribed to the times, but to the perſon by whom they were made. At the ſame time the rude heroiſm of the early romans in general appears from the ſeveral ſtories of Horatius Cocles, Junius Brutus, Mutius Scævola, and the behaviour of Tullia, Tarquin, &c. It was fortunate for this predatory ſtate, that, in it's ſeries of kings, rude valour combined with policy, and both with patriotic magnanimity: fortunate, that to a Romulus ſucceeded a Numa, to him a Tullius, an Ancus, after theſe a Tarquin, and then a Servius, whom perſonal merit alone could have exalted from the condition of a ſlave to the rank of a king. Laſtly, it was fortunate, that theſe kings, of ſuch different characters, reigned long, ſo that each had time to ſecure the benefits of his talents to Rome; till at length an arrogant Tarquin came, and the firmly fixed ſtate choſe another form of government. A ſelect and continually renovating ſucceſſion of warriors and rude patriots now aroſe, who ſought annually to renew their triumphs, and ſtrengthen and exert their patriotiſm in a thouſand ways.

Would

Would any one invent a political romance, to account for the origin of a Rome, he could not eaſily deviſe more ſuitable circumſtances, than hiſtory, or fable, here gives us*. Rhea Sylvia and the fate of her children, the rape of the ſabines and the apotheoſis of Quirinus, every rude adventure in war and conqueſt, and laſtly a Tarquin and a Lucretia, a Junius Brutus, a Poplicola, a Mutius Scævola, &c., ſerve to indicate a ſeries of future conſequences in the early diſpoſition of Rome itſelf. There is no hiſtory on which it is eaſier to philoſophize than the roman, as the political ſpirit of it's writers points out the chain of cauſes and effects in the courſe of events and actions.

CHAPTER II.

The Diſpoſitions of Rome for a ſovereign political and military State.

ROMULUS numbered his people, and divided them into tribes, curiæ, and centuriæ: he meaſured the land, and parcelled it out to the people, the ſtate, and the ſervice of religion. The people he diſtinguiſhed into patricians and plebeians: out of the patricians he formed the ſenate; and to the

* Monteſquieu, in his elegant work on the grandeur and decline of the romans, has almoſt exalted it into a political romance. Before him, Machiavel, Paruta, and many other ſagacious italians, had tried their ſkill in political reflections upon it.

ſame

ſame order he confined the principal offices of the ſtate, and the ſanctity of the prieſthood. He likewiſe ſelected a body of knights, which in a later period formed a kind of middle rank between the ſenate and people; and the two grand diviſions were more cloſely connected by the relationſhip of patron and client. From the etruſcans Romulus borrowed the lictors, with their faſces; a fearful emblem of authority, which every ſuperiour magiſtrate afterwards aſſumed in the functions of his office, though with ſome variations. He excluded foreign gods, to ſecure to Rome it's own tutelar divinity: he introduced augury, and other kinds of ſoothſaying, eſtabliſhing an intimate connexion between the popular religion, and civil and military affairs. He determined the reciprocal duties of huſband and wife, father and ſon, regulated the city, celebrated triumphs, was at length murdered, and afterwards adored as a god.

Behold the ſimple point, on which the wheel of roman events afterwards inceſſantly revolved. For though in time the claſſes of the people were increaſed, altered, or oppoſed to each other; though bitter conteſts aroſe, whether the claſſes or tribes of the people, and which of them, ſhould take the lead; though the increaſing debts of the plebeians, and the oppreſſions of the rich, occaſioned commotions, and many attempts were made for alleviating the burdens of the people by means of tribunes, agrarian laws, or the adminiſtration of juſtice by a middle rank, the knights; though diſputes reſpecting the limits of the ſenate, the patricians, and the

the plebeians, aſſumed now one form, then another, till the two ranks were confounded together: in all this we perceive nothing more than the neceſſary conſequences of a rudely compoſed living machine, ſuch as the roman ſtate within the walls of one city muſt have been. Thus ſuperiour offices were augmented, as the number of citizens, victories, conquered lands, and neceſſities of the ſtate increaſed: thus triumphs, games, expenſes, marital power, and paternal authority, were limited or enlarged, according to the different ſtages of manners and opinions: all however were ſhades of that ancient conſtitution, which Romulus invented not, it is true, but which he ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that it was capable of remaining the baſis of the roman form of government even under the emperours, nay almoſt to the preſent day. It's device was S. P. Q. R. *, the ſenate and people of Rome; magic words, which ſubjugated and ravaged the World, and at length rendered the romans the inſtruments of their own ruin. Let us contemplate a few leading points in the roman conſtitution, from which the fate of Rome appears to have branched out, as a tree from it's roots.

1. *The roman ſenate, as well as the roman people, was, from the earlieſt times, a body of warriors: Rome, from it's higheſt, to it's loweſt member in caſe of neceſſity, was a military ſtate.* The ſenate was a deliberative council; but from it's patricians it ſupplied generals and ambaſſadors: the independent ci-

* *Senatus populus que romanus.*

tizen was obliged to ſerve in the field from his ſeventeenth year to his forty-ſixth or fiftieth. He who had not made ten campaigns was ineligible to any of the higher offices. Hence the political ſpirit of the romans in the field: hence their military ſpirit in the council. Their deliberations were on affairs, with which they were familiar: their reſolves were acts. A roman ambaſſador was an object of reſpect to kings: for he might be at the head of an army, and decide the fate of kingdoms either in the ſenate or in the field. The people of the higher centuriæ were by no means a rude mob: they conſiſted of men of property, experienced in war, and foreign and domeſtic affairs. The votes of the poorer centuriæ had leſs weight; and in the better times of Rome their members were not thought qualified for the army.

2. *The education of the romans, particularly in the nobler families, was calculated for this deſtination.* They learned to deliberate, ſpeak, vote, and perſuade the people: they went early to the field, and prepared the way to triumphs, honours, and offices of ſtate. Hence the uniform character of the hiſtory and eloquence of the romans, and even of their juriſprudence and religion, philoſophy and language: all breathe a political and active ſpirit, a manly, adventurous courage, united with addreſs and urbanity. A wider difference can ſcarcely be conceived, than appears on compariſon of the hiſtory and eloquence of China, or Judea, with thoſe of Rome. From the ſpirit of the greeks, too, the ſpartans themſelves not excepted, that of Rome is diſtinct;

as

as it is founded on a rougher nature, more ancient habit, and principles more fixed. The roman ſenate never died: it's reſolutions, it's maxims, and the roman character inherited from Romulus, were immortal.

3. *The roman generals were frequently conſuls, whoſe military and civil offices uſually continued but a year:* accordingly they haſtened to return triumphant, and their ſucceſſors were eager to emulate their honours. Hence the incredible progreſs and multiplication of roman wars: one ſprung from another, and gave riſe to another in it's turn. Occaſions for future campaigns were reſerved, till the preſent was ended; and reſerved to accumulate with uſury, as a capital of ſpoil, ſucceſs, and glory. Hence the intereſt the romans ſo greedily took in foreign nations; on which they forced themſelves as allies and protectors, or as judges of differences, certainly not from motives of philanthropy. Their friendly alliances were the relation of a guardian to a ward; their advice was command; their deciſion, war or ſovereignty. More cool haughtineſs, and latterly ſhameleſs impudence, in the exerciſe of authority aſſumed by force, were never diſplayed, than by theſe romans, who thought the World was theirs, and made for them alone.

4. *The roman ſoldier too ſhared the glory and reward of his commander.* In the early ages of Rome's patriotic virtues the ſoldiers ſerved without pay; and afterwards it was ſparingly diſtributed: but out of it's conqueſts, and the increaſed power of the people by means of the tribunes, grew pay, reward, and

booty. The lands of the conquered were often divided among the ſoldiery; and it is well known, that the moſt ancient and numerous quarrels in the roman republic aroſe from the diſtribution of lands. Subſequently, in foreign conqueſts the ſoldier ſhared the booty; and participated the triumph of his general, both in glory and valuable donations. Civic, mural, and roſtral crowns were conferred: and Lucius Dentatus could boaſt, 'that, having been in a hundred and twenty battles, eight times victorious in ſingle combat, wounded forty five times before, and not once behind, he had diſarmed his enemy five and thirty times, and been rewarded with eighteen *haſtæ puræ*, twenty five ſets of horſe furniture, eighty three chains, a hundred and ſixty bracelets, and twenty ſix crowns, namely, fourteen civic, eight golden, three mural, and one obſidional, beſide money, ten priſoners, and twenty oxen.'

As beſide this, the point of honour in our ſtanding armies, where no one ever ſerves in a rank inferiour to what he has once born, and every one is promoted in turn, according to the date of his ſervice, was unknown in the roman ſtate even to the lateſt period; but the general choſe his own tribunes, and the tribune his ſubordinate officers, at the commencement of a war: a more free competition for poſts of honour and military employments was opened, and a more intimate connection between the general, the officers, and the ſoldiery, was formed. The whole army was a body ſelected for the campaign, and the ſpirit of the general was infuſed into every member of it, by thoſe who commanded

manded under him. In proportion as the wall, that at the commencement of the republic ſeparated the patricians and plebeians, was broken down in the courſe of time, valour and ſucceſs in war became the road to honours, wealth, and power, for all ranks; ſo that in later times the firſt poſſeſſors of undivided power in Rome, Marius and Sylla, were plebeians*, and at length the higheſt dignities were obtained by the meaneſt perſons. Unqueſtionably this was the ruin of Rome; as, in the beginning of the republic, patrician pride was it's ſupport; and it was only by degrees, that the haughtineſs and oppreſſion exerciſed by men of rank became the cauſes of all the internal diſſenſions that enſued. To eſtabliſh an equilibrium between the ſenate and the people, the patricians and plebeians, was the perpetual bone of contention in the roman ſtate; where the balance preponderating now to one ſide, then to the other, at length overturned the commonwealth.

5. *Roman virtue, ſo highly celebrated, is for the moſt part inexplicable, without the narrow, ſevere conſtitution of the roman ſtate:* when this was gone, that was at an end. The conſuls ſucceeded in the place of the kings, and were compelled, as it were, in imitation of ancient example, to diſplay ſomething more than a royal, to diſplay a roman ſoul. All the magiſtrates, the cenſors eſpecially, participated this ſpirit. We are aſtoniſhed at the ſtrict impartiality, the diſintereſted magnanimity, the buſy

* Sulla was a patrician. F.

lives, of the ancient romans, from the moment their day broke, nay before the break of day, even from the earlieſt peep of dawn. No ſtate in the World probably went ſo far in this earneſtneſs of application, this ſtrict diſcharge of civic duties, as Rome, where all was in cloſe contact. The nobleneſs of their families, which was honourably deſignated by patronymic names; dangers continually renewed from without, and inceſſant conteſts for an equilibrium between the patricians and plebeians within; again, the bond of union between both in the relationſhip of patron and client; the crowded intercourſe with each other in the market places, in their houſes, and in political temples; the fine yet diſtinct limits between what belonged to the ſenate, and what to the people; their ſimplicity in domeſtic life; and the education of youth in a familiarity with all theſe things from their infancy; contributed to form in the romans the firſt and proudeſt nation of the World. Their nobility was not, as among others, an indolent nobility, founded on landed poſſeſſions, on wealth, or on a name: it was a proud, family, civic, roman ſpirit, in the firſt races; on which their country depended as it's firmeſt ſupport; and in the continued activity, the permanent ſtream of the ſame eternal ſtate, it was tranſmitted from father to ſon. I am perſuaded, that, in the moſt perilous times, no roman could conceive any idea of the deſtruction of Rome: all acted for their city, as if the gods had deſtined it to be immortal, and them to be the inſtruments of the gods for ſupporting it to eter-

nity. But as the aſtoniſhing ſucceſs of the romans converted their valour into inſolence, Scipio could not help applying to his country, on the deſtruction of Carthage, thoſe verſes of Homer, in which the fate of Troy is predicted *.

6. *The manner in which religion was interwoven with the ſtate in Rome unqueſtionably contributed to it's civil and military greatneſs.* As from the foundation of the city, and in the moſt valiant ages of the republic, the prieſthood was in the hands of the moſt reſpectable families, who were at the ſame time ſtateſmen and warriors, ſo that even the emperours themſelves diſdained not to execute it's functions; in all their ceremonies they guarded againſt the true peſt of every national religion, contempt, which the ſenate employed it's utmoſt endeavours to obviate. Accordingly, that able politician Polybius aſcribes part of the virtues of the romans, particularly their incorruptible faith and veracity, to religion, by him termed ſuperſtition: and even in the late ages of their decline, the romans were actually ſo addicted to this ſuperſtition, that ſome commanders, of the moſt ferocious diſpoſition, profeſſed themſelves to have communication with the gods; and believed, that, by their inſpiration and aſſiſtance, they had not only power over the minds of the people and the army, but even the control of chance and fortune. Religion was connected with every civil and military tranſaction, ſo as to ſanctify it; and hence the noble families contended with the

* They are pronounced by Hector, in his interview with Andromache. Iliad. Z. 447. ſeq. F.

people for the poſſeſſion of religious dignities, as for their moſt ſacred privilege. This is commonly aſcribed to their policy alone, as their auſpices and haruſpices put into their hands the direction of affairs by means of artful religious deceptions: but, though I will not deny, that theſe were occaſionally practiſed, this certainly was not the whole of the buſineſs. The worſhip of their fathers, and of the gods of Rome, was, according to the general belief, the ſupport of their good fortune, the pledge of their preeminence over other nations, and the revered ſanctuary of their unparagoned ſtate. As at the beginning they adopted no ſtrange gods, though they reſpected the deities of every foreign land, ſo they retained the ancient worſhip of their divinities, in which they became romans. To alter any thing in this, was to derange the fundamental pillars of the ſtate: hence in the regulation of religious ceremonies the ſenate and people maintained their ſovereign rights, which precluded all the plots and ſubtleties of a ſeparate prieſthood. The religion of the romans was a civil and military religion; which did not guard them, indeed, from unjuſt wars, but, giving them at leaſt an appearance of juſtice by means of their feciales and auſpices, placed them under the eyes of the gods, and claimed their aſſiſtance.

At a later period it was equally politic in the romans, abandoning their ancient principles, to allure to them foreign deities. Their ſtate already began to totter, as, after immenſe conqueſts, was inevitable; but this politic toleration preſerved it

from the ſpirit of perſecuting foreign religions, which firſt appeared under the emperors, by whom it was exerciſed only occaſionally from political motives, and not from hatred or affection to ſpeculative truth. Upon the whole, the romans troubled themſelves about no religion, unleſs ſo far as it attacked the ſtate: in this reſpect they were not men and philoſophers, but citizens, ſoldiers, and conquerors.

7. What ſhall I ſay of the *roman art of war*, certainly at that time the moſt perfect of it's kind, as it united the ſoldier and citizen, the ſtateſman and general, and ever vigilant, ever pliable and new, acquired knowledge from every enemy? It's rude foundations were of equal antiquity with the city itſelf, the citizens that Romulus muſtered forming the firſt legion: but they were not aſhamed in time to alter the primitive arrangement of the army, to render the ancient phalanx leſs unwieldy, and thus, by imparting to it a greater capacity for action, to diſcomfit the veteran macedonians, whoſe order of battle was then reckoned the model of the military art. Inſtead of their ancient latin arms, they borrowed ſuch as ſuited them from the etruſcans and ſamnites; and they learned the regulation of marches from Hannibal, whoſe long reſidence in Italy gave them the ſevereſt leſſons of war they had ever received. All their great commanders, among whom are to be reckoned the Scipios, Marius, Sylla, Pompey, and Cæſar, ſtudied war as an art during the whole of their lives: and as they had to carry it on againſt the moſt various nations, nations too acting valiantly from ſtrength, courage,

courage, and deſpair, they neceſſarily made great progreſs in every branch of the ſcience.

The might of the romans however conſiſted not wholly in their weapons, their order of battle, and their encampments; but in the imperturbable martial ſpirit of their generals, and in the tried ſtrength of the ſoldier; who could brave hunger, thirſt, and peril; who was as ready at the uſe of his weapons, as if they had been his own limbs; and who, ſtanding firm againſt the ſhock of the ſpear, with his ſhort roman ſword in his hand, fought the heart of his enemy even in the midſt of the phalanx. This ſhort roman ſword, wielded with roman valour, conquered the World. It was the roman art of war to attack rather than defend, to fight rather than beſiege, and to take the ſhorteſt, ſtraighteſt way to victory and fame. To the aſſiſtance of this came the inveterate principles of the republic, to which all reſiſtance proved vain: never to deſiſt till the enemy was completely overthrown, and therefore to engage only with one enemy at a time; never to accept peace in misfortune, even if peace would give more than victory could obtain, but to ſtand firm, and act ſo much the more bravely againſt the ſucceſsful victor; to begin with magnanimity, and the maſk of diſintereſtedneſs, as if they ſought only to ſuccour the oppreſſed, and gain allies, till in time they were enabled to rule their allies, oppreſs the ſuccoured, and triumph as victors over friend and foe. Theſe and ſimilar maxims of roman inſolence, or, if you pleaſe, of cool, prudent magnanimity, reduced a world of nations to the ſtate of provinces:

and

and ſo they ever would, if ſimilar times, and a ſimilar people, could ariſe.

Let us now traverſe the bloody field, through which theſe conquerors of the World waded, and examine what they have left behind them.

CHAPTER III.

Conqueſts of the Romans.

WHEN Rome began it's career of heroiſm, Italy was covered with a number of little nations; each living according to it's own laws, and hereditary character; more or leſs enlightened; but active, induſtrious, prolific. We are aſtoniſhed at the number of men, that every little ſtate, even in rude mountainous regions, was able to bring againſt the romans; men who had there found, and could ſtill find ſubſiſtence. The civilization of Italy was by no means confined to Etruria; it was ſhared by every little people, the gauls themſelves not excepted: the land was cultivated; rude arts, trade, and war, were purſued after the manner of the times; no ſtate was without good laws, though few in number; and even the natural regulation of the balance of power between different ſtates was not unknown. Impelled by pride or neceſſity, and favoured by various circumſtances, the romans were engaged with them in arduous, bloody wars, for five centuries; ſo that all the reſt of the World that they ſubdued coſt them leſs trouble, than this little chain of people,

people, which they gradually brought under the yoke.

And what were the conſequences of their exertions? Ravage and deſtruction. I do not reckon the men ſlain on both ſides; and with the loſs of whom whole nations, as the ſamnites and etruſcans, were ſwept away: the obliteration of theſe communities, and the deſtruction of their towns, were misfortunes of greater magnitude to this country, becauſe affecting remoteſt poſterity. Whether theſe nations were tranſplanted to Rome, or their ſad remains reckoned in the number of it's allies, or treated as ſubjects and bridled by colonies, their primitive energy was never reſtored. Once chained to Rome's brazen yoke, they were compelled, for centuries, as ſubjects or allies, to ſpill their blood in her ſervice, and for her profit and glory, not their own. Once chained to this yoke, notwithſtanding all the privileges conferred on this people, or on that, every individual was at laſt reduced to ſeek fortune, honour, wealth, and juſtice, in Rome alone; ſo that in a few centuries the great city became the grave of Italy. Soon or late the laws of Rome univerſally prevailed; the manners of Rome became the manners of Italy; her mad aim to acquire the ſovereignty of the World enticed all theſe people to throng round her, and at length periſh in the gulf of roman luxury. No denial, no reſtriction, no prohibition, was capable at laſt of affording any aid: for the courſe of nature, once turned out of it's direction, cannot be altered afterwards at will by human laws.

Thus

Thus by degrees Rome drained, enervated, and depopulated Italy; ſo that at length rude barbarians were requiſite, to give it new people, new laws, new manners, and new courage. But what was no more, returned not again: Alba and Cameria, the wealthy Veii, and moſt of the etrurian, latin, ſamnite, and apulian cities were deſtroyed: the ſcanty colonies, planted amid their aſhes, had reſtored to none their ancient dignity, numerous population, induſtry in arts, laws and manners. It was the ſame with all the flouriſhing republics of Græcia Magna: Tarentum and Croton, Sybaris and Cumæ, Locri and Thurium, Rhegium and Meſſana, Syracuſe, Catania, Naxus, Megara, were no more; and many of them had experienced the ſevereſt fate. Thou, wiſe and great Archimedes, waſt ſlain in the midſt of thy geometrical labours; and it is no wonder, that thy grave remained unknown to thy more modern countrymen, ſince thy country was buried with thee; for the ſtate periſhed, though the city was ſpared. The miſchief done to the arts and ſciences, to the cultivation of the ſoil and the improvement of the human mind, by the dominion of Rome in this corner of the World, is incredible. Wars and proconſuls laid waſte the delightful iſle of Sicily; and Lower Italy was ruined by the various ravages committed in it, though ſtill more by it's proximity to Rome; till at length both countries were parcelled out into eſtates and country ſeats of the romans, while they were likewiſe the neareſt objects of their extortion. The once flouriſhing land of Etruria was already in a ſimilar ſituation, in the time of the elder Gracchus:

Gracchus: a fertile ſolitude, inhabited only by ſlaves, and drained by the romans. And what fine country in the World experienced a better fate, when once within the gripe of roman talons?

When Rome had ſubjugated Italy, ſhe began with Carthage; and this in a manner, at which her moſt determined friends muſt bluſh. Her aſſiſting the mamertines, in order to gain footing in Sicily; her ſeizing upon Corſica and Sardinia, while Carthage was embroiled with her mercenaries; and laſtly, the deliberating of her grave ſenators, whether a Carthage were to be ſuffered to exiſt upon the Earth, with as little ceremony as if the debate had been on a cabbage of their own planting; with a hundred inſtances of like nature; render the roman hiſtory, with all the valour and addreſs it diſplays, a hiſtory of demons. Be it Scipio himſelf, that preſents to a Carthage, little capable of doing farther injury to Rome, praying even her aid with the offer of an ample tribute, and, truſting to her promiſes, delivering up her weapons, ſhips, arſenals, and three hundred of her principal inhabitants as hoſtages; be it Scipio, or a god, that preſents to her, in ſuch a ſituation, the cold, haughty propoſal of her deſtruction, as a decree of the ſenate; it is ſtill a black, deviliſh propoſal, of which unqueſtionably the noble deliverer himſelf was aſhamed. 'Carthage is taken,' he writes back to Rome; as if with this expreſſion he would veil his infamous act: for never have the romans given, or been the means of giving to the World, ſuch a Carthage. Even an enemy to Carthage, aware of all it's vices

and

and defects, beholds with anger it's deſtruction; and reſpects the carthaginians at leaſt when he beholds them as diſarmed, betrayed republicans, fighting on their graves, and fighting for a burying place.

Why was it denied thee, thou great, thou matchleſs Hannibal, to prevent thy country's ruin, and march directly to the wolf's den of thy hereditary foe, immediately after the battle of Cannæ? Weak poſterity, that never croſſed the Alps and Pyrenees, condemns thee for this; not reflecting on the people whom thou hadſt under thy command, and on the condition in which, after the terrible winter campaign in Upper and Middle Italy, they muſt have been. It condemns thee, from the mouth of thy enemies, for want of military diſcipline: though it is almoſt incomprehenſible, how thou couldſt keep together thy mercenaries ſo long, and after ſuch marches and ſuch actions, reſt not till thou hadſt reached the plains of Campania. Renown will ever deck the name of this brave enemy of Rome, whom ſhe more than once imperiouſly demanded, to be delivered up to her as ſome engine of war. Not fate, but the factious avarice of his countrymen, prevented him from completing that victory, which he, not Carthage, had obtained over Rome: and thus he was incapable of becoming more than an inſtrument for inſtructing the romans in the art of war, as they had learned that of navigation wholly from his countrymen. In both fate has given us a fearful warning, never to ſtop ſhort of the full completion of our purpoſes; otherwiſe we ſhall certainly promote,

promote, what we are endeavouring to prevent. Suffice it, that with Carthage fell a ſtate, which the romans could never replace. Commerce deſerted it's coaſts; and pirates ſucceeded, as they ever will, to the ſhores that commerce had abandoned. Under the roman colonies Africa ceaſed to be that horn of plenty, which it had long been under Carthage: it was a granary for the people of Rome alone, a menagerie of wild beaſts for their amuſement, and a magazine of ſlaves. Deſolate to this moment lie the ſhores and plains of that fine country, which the romans firſt robbed of it's internal culture. Even every line of the punic writings is loſt to us: Æmilianus preſented them to the grandchildren of Maſiniſſa; one enemy of Carthage, to another.

Whatever way I turn my eyes from Carthage, devaſtation riſes before them; for this ever marked the footſteps of theſe conquerors of the World. Had the romans really intended to be the deliverers of Greece, when they announced themſelves under this proud name at the iſthmian games to the greeks now ſunk into childhood, how different would have been their conduct! But when Paulus Æmilius permitted ſeventy cities of Epirus to be deſpoiled, and a hundred and fifty thouſand perſons to be ſold for ſlaves, merely to reward his army; when Metellus and Silanus ravaged and plundered Macedon, Mummius Corinth, and Sylla Athens and Delphos, as ſcarcely any cities in the World had been plundered; when this devaſtation was ſpread likewiſe through the grecian iſlands, and Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, experienced no better fate than

than Greece, namely that of becoming ſources of tribute, and magazines of ſpoil to deck the triumphs of the romans; when the laſt king of Macedon was led in triumph with his ſons, languiſhed in the moſt wretched priſon, whilſt one ſon eſcaped death only to gain his livelihood as a ſkilful turner and ſcribe at Rome; when the laſt glimmering of grecian liberty, the ætolian and achaian league, was extinguiſhed; and the whole country became a roman province, or a field of carnage, on which the plundering, ravaging armies of the triumvirs at length engaged each other: O Greece, what an end was reſerved for thee by thy protectreſs, thy pupil, Rome, the tutoreſs of the World! Nothing remains of thee but ruins, which the barbarous ſpoilers carried away with them in triumph; that, at a ſubſequent period, whatever the art of man had invented might periſh amid the aſhes of their own city.

From Greece let us ſteer our courſe to the ſhores of Aſia and Africa. Into the kingdoms of Aſia Minor, Syria, Pontus, Armenia, and Egypt, the romans ſoon intruded; either as heirs, or as guardians, umpires, and pacificators: but hence, as a juſt reward for their ſervices, they drew the poiſon, that proved fatal to their own conſtitution. The great military exploits of Scipio Aſiaticus, Manlius, Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, are known to every one; to the laſt of whom was decreed a triumph at one time over fifteen conquered kingdoms, eight hundred cities, and a thouſand fortreſſes. The gold and ſilver diſplayed in ſolemn pomp on the occaſion

were eſtimated at twenty thouſand talents*; he augmented the revenues of the ſtate a third part, to the amount of twelve thouſand talents†; and his whole army was ſo enriched, that the meaneſt ſoldier received from him as a triumphant gift to the value of more than thirty pounds ſterling, beſide what he had already acquired as booty. What a robber! Craſſus, who plundered Jeruſalem alone of ten thouſand talents ‡, purſued the ſame ſteps; and no one penetrated farther into the eaſt, without returning, if he did return, laden with wealth and luxury. What by way of compenſation did the romans beſtow on the aſiatics? Neither laws, nor peace; neither inſtitutions, nor arts, nor people. They ravaged countries, burned libraries, deſpoiled cities, temples, and altars. Part of the alexandrian library was given to the flames by Julius Cæſar; and Mark Antony beſtowed the greater portion of that of Pergamus on Cleopatra, that both might afterwards periſh together. Thus the romans, endeavouring to ſpread day over the World, wrapped it in deſolating night: treaſures of gold and ſilver were extorted: nations, and myriads of ancient ideas, were whelmed in the abyſs: the characters of countries were obliterated, and the provinces were drained, plundered, and abuſed, under a ſucceſſion of execrable emperors.

With almoſt yet more melancholy do I bend

* About 3800000 £ ſterling.
† About 2280000 £.
‡ About 1900000 £.

my

my courſe weſtwards to the ravaged countries of Spain, Gaul, and wherever the romans ſtretched their arms. The nations they deſtroyed in the eaſt for the moſt part had already bloſſomed, and begun to fade: here, yet unripe, but full of buds, they were ſo injured in their firſt youthful growth, that the race and family of many are ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed. Spain, before the romans entered it, was a well-cultivated, and in moſt places fertile, rich, and happy land. It's trade was conſiderable; and the ſtate of civilization among ſome of it's people by no means to be deſpiſed; of which the turdetani, on the banks of the Bætis, to whom the phenicians and carthaginians had been longeſt known, and even the celtiberians, in the heart of the country, are ſufficient proofs. No place upon Earth more ſtoutly reſiſted the romans than the brave Numantia. For twenty years it ſupported the war; defeated one roman army after another; and at laſt defended itſelf againſt all the military ſkill of a Scipio, with a valour, the melancholy fate of which excites the commiſeration of every reader. And what did the deſpoilers ſeek here, in an inland country, from nations that had never given them offence, and ſcarcely heard of their names? Gold and ſilver mines. Spain was to them, what America is now forced to be to Spain, a place for plunder. Lucullus, Galba, and others, plundered in contempt of the faith they had pledged: the ſenate itſelf annulled two treaties of peace, which it's defeated generals had been fain to conclude with the numantines. It inhumanly delivered up to

them the generals; but was again overcome by the numantines in generosity to these unfortunate commanders. And now Scipio appeared with all his force before Numantia; completely blockaded it; cut off the right arms of four hundred young men, the only persons who would come to the assistance of this injured town; listened not to the moving intreaties, with which a people oppressed by famine endeavoured to excite his pity and justice; and completed the destruction of these unhappy beings like a true roman. Like a true roman, too, acted Tiberius Gracchus; when in the country of the celtiberians alone he ravaged three hundred towns, even if we suppose them to have been nothing more than fortresses and villages. Hence the inextinguishable hatred of the spaniards toward the romans: hence the valiant exploits of Viriatus and Sertorius, both of whom fell by unworthy means, and undoubtedly excelled many roman commanders in military skill and courage: hence the scarcely ever subdued mountaineers of the Pyrenees, who, in despite of the romans, retained their savage state as long as possible. Unfortunate land of gold, Iberia, thou, with thy culture, and thy nations, art sunk almost unknown into the realm of shades, in which Homer already depicted thee, beneath the rays of the setting Sun, as a subterranean kingdom.

Of Gaul we have little to say, as we know nothing of it's conquest, but from the military journal of it's conqueror. For ten years it cost Cæsar himself incredible pains, and required all the powers of

of his great mind. Though he excelled every other roman in generoſity, ſtill he was unable to change the fate of his roman deſtination, and gained the melancholy praiſe of having been engaged in fifty pitched battles, not reckoning the civil wars, and having ſlain in fight eleven hundred and ninety two thouſand men. Moſt of theſe were gauls. Where are the numerous, lively, valiant people of this extenſive country? where were their ſpirit and courage, their numbers and ſtrength, when centuries after ſavage nations fell upon them, and ſhared them among themſelves as roman ſlaves? Even the name of this leading ſtock of people, with it's peculiar religion, cultivation, and language, is obliterated throughout the whole of the country, that became a roman province. You great and noble minds, Scipio and Cæſar, what are your thoughts, what your feelings, when now, as departed ſpirits, you look down from your celeſtial ſpheres on Rome, that neſt of robbers, and the ſcenes of your murders? How foul to you muſt appear your honour, how bloody your laurels, how baſe and inhuman your exterminating arts! Rome is no more: and when it did exiſt, the feelings of every worthy man muſt have whiſpered to him, that all theſe monſtrous, ambitious victories would call down vengeance and deſtruction on his country.

CHAPTER IV.

The Decline of Rome.

THE law of retaliation is an eternal ordinance of nature. As in a balance neither ſcale can be depreſſed without the aſcent of the other; ſo no political equilibrium can be deſtroyed, no ſin againſt the rights of nations and of mankind can be committed, without avenging itſelf; and the more the meaſure is heaped, the more tremendous will be it's fall. If any hiſtory proclaim to us this natural truth, it is the hiſtory of Rome: but let the reader extend his views, and not confine them to a ſingle cauſe of the ruin of that ſtate. Had the romans never beheld Greece or Aſia, and proceeded after the manner in which they did againſt other poorer countries; undoubtedly their fall would have happened at a different period, and under different circumſtances: ſtill it would have been equally inevitable. The ſeeds of deſtruction lay in the heart of the plant; the worm gnawed it's roots, and it's vital juices were corrupted: the gigantic tree, therefore, muſt ultimately fall to the ground.

1. In the eſſence of the roman conſtitution was a leaven of diſſenſion, which, if not removed, could not fail ſoon or late to effect it's deſtruction: this was *the diſpoſition of the ſtate itſelf, the unjuſt or uncertain limits between the ſenate, the knights, and the citizens.* It was impoſſible for Romulus to foreſee all the

the future circumſtances of his city, when he eſtabliſhed this diviſion: he formed it according to it's preſent ſtate and wants; as theſe altered, he himſelf loſt his life by the hands of thoſe, to whom his power became burdenſome. None of his ſucceſſors had courage, or occaſion, to do what Romulus had not done: they gave a preponderance to either party by their perſonal authority, and preſerved an union between the different ranks in a rude ſtate ſurrounded with dangers. Servius muſtered the people, and put the balance in the hands of the rich. Under the firſt conſuls dangers were extremely preſſing: at the ſame time men of ſuch merit, ſtrength, and greatneſs, were conſpicuous among the patricians, that they could not fail to lead the people.

But circumſtances ſoon changed; and the oppreſſion of the nobles became inſupportable. The citizens were overwhelmed with debt: they had too little ſhare in the legiſlation; they reaped too little advantages from the victories, for which their blood was ſpilled: ſo the people retired to the Sacred Mount, and ſo diſputes aroſe, which the appointment of tribunes was calculated rather to multiply than remove, and with which the whole ſubſequent hiſtory of Rome was accordingly interwoven. Hence the long and frequently renewed conteſts reſpecting the diviſion of lands, and the participation of the plebeians in magiſterial, conſular, and ſacerdotal offices; in which conteſts each party ſought it's own ends, and no one attempted an unbiaſſed and equitable adjuſtment of the intereſts of both. This

contention ſurvived even to the triumvirates: nay the triumvirates themſelves were conſequences of it. Now as theſe put an end to the whole of the roman conſtitution, and this contention was nearly as old as the republic itſelf; it appears, that it aroſe from no external circumſtances, but from an internal cauſe, which from the beginning corroded the vitals of the ſtate. It is ſingular, therefore, that the roman conſtitution ſhould have been repreſented as a pattern of perfection: a conſtitution one of the moſt imperfect in the World, originating from crude temporary circumſtances, and never afterwards reformed from a general comprehenſive view of the whole, but partially altered from time to time. Cæſar alone was capable of giving it a radical reform: but it was too late, and the dagger, that deprived him of life, deſtroyed all poſſibility of an improved conſtitution.

2. There is an inconſiſtency in the poſition: Rome, the queen of nations, Rome the ſovereign of the World: for *Rome was merely a city; and it's conſtitution, the conſtitution of a city alone.* That Rome's reſolves for war, however, were the reſolves of an immortal ſenate, not of a mortal king; while the ſpirit of it's world-deſtroying maxims was naturally more durable in a college, than in a fluctuating ſeries of rulers; unqueſtionably contributed to it's perſevering obſtinacy in war, and conſequently to it's victories. Beſides, the patricians and plebeians were almoſt always at variance; ſo that the ſenate found it neceſſary to create wars, for the purpoſe of employing the unruly multitude, or ſome turbulent

turbulent leader, abroad, that peace might be preſerved at home. Thus this permanent variance contributed greatly to the continuance of foreign devaſtation. Laſtly, as the ſenate itſelf was often cloſely beſet with dangers, and frequently found victories, or the fame of victories, neceſſary for it's ſupport; and as every daring patrician, who wiſhed the people to eſpouſe his cauſe, ſtood in need of donations, games, celebrity, and triumphs, which war alone, or for the moſt part, could furniſh; this divided, reſtleſs government was a cauſe of diſturbing the peace of the World, and keeping it in commotion for centuries: for, out of regard to it's own happineſs, no orderly ſtate, tranquil in itſelf, would have been the actor of ſuch a fearful tragedy.

To make conqueſts, however, is one thing; to retain them, another: one thing, to gain victories; another, to render them of advantage to the ſtate. Rome, from it's internal conſtitution, was never capable of the latter: and the former it was enabled to do only by means altogether inimical to the conſtitution of a city. Already the firſt kings, that applied their arms to conqueſt, were compelled to admit ſome of the conquered towns and nations within the walls of Rome; that the feeble tree, which was deſirous of ſhooting forth ſuch enormous branches, might acquire roots, and a ſubſtantial trunk: thus the inhabitants of Rome increaſed alarmingly. The city afterwards formed alliances, and it's allies joined it's armies in the field: ſo that they took part in it's victories and conqueſts, and were romans, though they were neither citizens

nor

nor inhabitants of Rome. Hence ſoon aroſe warm conteſts on the part of the allies for admiſſion to the rights of citizenſhip: a demand inevitable from the nature of the caſe. Hence aroſe the firſt ſocial war, which coſt Italy three hundred thouſand of it's youths, and brought Rome, which had been obliged to arm even it's freedmen, to the brink of deſtruction: for it was a war between the head and the members, which terminated only by the conſolidation of the members into this miſshapen head. All Italy was now become Rome, which continued to ſpread itſelf, to the great diſturbance of the World. I ſhall paſs over the diſorder, which this romanizing muſt have introduced into the laws of all the italian ſtates; and only notice the evils, that thenceforward flowed from all corners, and from every region, into Rome.

If there were previouſly ſuch a conflux to this city, as rendered it ſo impoſſible, to keep the tables of the cenſus uncontaminated, that even a man, who was no roman citizen, was elected conſul; how muſt it have been, when the head of the World was a mixed mob from all Italy; the moſt monſtrous head, that Earth ever bore? Immediately on the death of Sylla, the lords of the World amounted to four hundred and fifty thouſand; the admiſſion of the allies infinitely increaſed the number; and in Cæſar's time there were three hundred and twenty thouſand, who ſhared in the public donations of corn. Think of this turbulent mob of moſtly idle perſons aſſembling to vote, in company with it's patrons, and thoſe who aſpired to

poſts

poſts of honour; and it will not be difficult to conceive how donations, ſpectacles, parade, and flattery, and ſtill more military force, could excite thoſe tumults, ſpill thoſe ſeas of blood, and eſtabliſh thoſe triumvirates, which at length reduced this haughty ſovereign of the World into a ſtate of ſlavery to herſelf. Where now was the authority of the ſenate? or what were five or ſix hundred perſons againſt the innumerable multitude, that claimed the rights of ſovereignty, and, marſhalled in powerful armies, were at the beck now of this man, now of that? What a poor figure did the divine ſenate, as the flattering greeks ſtyled it, make before Marius or Sylla, Pompey or Cæſar, Antony or Octavius! The father of his country, Cicero, appears ſhorn of his glories, when attacked only by a Clodius; and his beſt councils were of little avail, not only againſt what Pompey, Cæſar, Antony, and others, actually did, but what even a Catiline had nearly accompliſhed. Not from the ſpices of the eaſt, not from the effeminacy of Lucullus, ſprung this diſorderly ſtate of things; but from the eſſence of the conſtitution of Rome, which, merely as a city, aimed at being the head of the World *.

3. *In Rome, however, there were not a ſenate and people alone, but ſlaves alſo; and of theſe the number*

* For all the good that can be ſaid of the ſimplicity of the ancient romans, and the improvement of the roman people, read the firſt volume of Meierotto's well ſupported work on the manners and way of life of the romans; and for the progreſs of luxury, both among the plebeians and patricians, ſee the ſecond volume of the ſame book.

increaſed,

increaſed, in proportion as the romans extended their ſway. By the hands of ſlaves they cultivated their extenſive, fertile lands in Italy, Sicily, Greece, &c. A number of ſlaves conſtituted their domeſtic wealth; and the traffic in them, nay the tuition of them, was an extenſive occupation at Rome, of which even Cato was not aſhamed. The days when maſter and ſervant lived almoſt like brothers together, and Romulus could promulgate a law, that a father might ſell his ſon for a ſlave three times, had long been paſt: the ſlaves of the conquerors of the World were collected from every quarter of the Globe, and were treated by good maſters mildly, by the pitileſs frequently as brutes. It would have been wonderful, had no detriment accrued to the romans from this vaſt multitude of oppreſſed beings: for, like every other bad inſtitution, this could not fail to avenge itſelf. The vengeance taken by the bloody war of the ſlaves, which Spartacus waged againſt the romans for three years, with the valour and ſkill of a conſummate general; his followers increaſing from ſeventy four perſons to an army of ſeventy thouſand, with which he defeated different commanders, among whom were two conſuls; during which war many cruelties were perpetrated; was only a prelude. The grand miſchief aroſe from the favourites of their maſters, the freedmen, who at length reduced Rome to the ſtate of a ſlave of ſlaves, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the words. This evil commenced as early as Sylla's time; and under the emperors it increaſed ſo dreadfully, that I am incapable of deſcribing the diſorders and barbarities,

rities, which originated with freedmen and favourite ſlaves. The hiſtories and ſatires of roman authors abound with them: no ſavage nation upon Earth is acquainted with any thing, that will bear a compariſon. Thus Rome was puniſhed by Rome: the oppreſſor of the World became the abject ſervant of the moſt infamous ſlaves.

4. To this *luxury* likewiſe greatly contributed: towards which unfortunately Rome was not leſs forcibly impelled by circumſtances, than to the conqueſt of the World by ſituation. As from a central point ſhe ruled the Mediterranean Sea, and with it the rich ſhores of three quarters of the Globe: while by the aid of conſiderable fleets ſhe acquired through the medium of Alexandria the precious commodities of Ethiopia, and the remoteſt parts of the eaſt. My words are too feeble to deſcribe the groſs diſſipation and luxury in feaſts and public ſpectacles, in dainties for the table and garments for the body, in houſes and in furniture, which prevailed, not only in Rome, but in every place connected with it, after the conqueſt of Aſia*. A man can ſcarcely believe his own eyes, when he reads the deſcriptions of theſe things, the high price of foreign commodities, and the profuſion of them, with the immenſe debts of the great men of Rome, who were latterly freedmen and ſlaves.

* See, beſide Petronius, Pliny, Juvenal, and abundance of paſſages in the ancients; and among modern compilations the ſecond volume of Meierotto's work on the manners and way of life of the romans, Meiners's *Geſchichte des Verfalls der Roemer*, 'Hiſtory of the Decline of the Romans,' &c.

This

This extravagance neceſſarily induced extreme poverty: nay it was in itſelf a preſſing want. Thoſe rivers of gold, which for centuries flowed into Rome from all the provinces, at laſt dried up: and as all the commerce of the romans was in the higheſt degree prejudicial to them, ſince they exchanged ready money for mere ſuperfluities, it is not to be wondered, that India alone drained them annually of immenſe ſums.

In the mean time, the land was neglected: agriculture was no longer purſued, as it had formerly been, by the romans and their contemporaries in Italy: the arts of Rome were employed not on the uſeful, but on the ſuperfluous; on extravagant ſplendour and expenſe in triumphal arches, baths, funeral monuments, theatres, amphitheatres, and the like; wonderful ſtructures, ſuch as it muſt be confeſſed theſe plunderers of the World alone could erect. To no roman are we indebted for any uſeful art, for any thing contributing to the ſupport of man; which might have benefitted other nations, and from which permanent and deſerved advantage might have been derived. Hence the empire ſoon became poor: the ſtandard of the coin was lowered; and in the third century of our era, if we take the baſeneſs of the coin into conſideration, a general received ſcarcely the pay, that was deemed inſufficient for a common ſoldier in the time of Auguſtus. Obvious natural conſequences of the courſe of things; which, conſidered merely in a manufacturing and commercial view, could not turn out otherwiſe.

From

From theſe deſtructive circumſtances the human ſpecies, too, degenerated; not only in number, but in ſtature, growth, and vital energy. Rome and Italy, which had rendered the moſt populous and flouriſhing countries in the World, Sicily, Greece, Spain, Aſia, Africa, and Egypt, nearly deſerts, naturally drew upon themſelves, by their laws and wars, and ſtill more by their depraved, indolent manner of living, their inordinate vices, the practice of divorce, ſeverity towards their ſlaves, and latterly tyranny toward the worthieſt men, the moſt unnatural death. Expiring Rome lay for centuries on her deathbed in the moſt frightful convulſions: a deathbed extending over a whole World, from which ſhe had ſucked her delicious poiſon, and which could then render her no aſſiſtance, but that of accelerating her death. Barbarians came to perform this office: northern giants, to whom the enervated romans appeared dwarfs: they ravaged Rome, and infuſed new life into expiring Italy. A tremendous yet wholeſome proof, that all irregularities in Nature avenge and conſume themſelves. We have to thank the luxury of the eaſt for having freed the World earlier from a carcaſe, which victories in other regions indeed would have deſtroyed, but it is probable neither ſo ſpeedily, nor ſo terribly.

5. I have now to conſolidate the whole into one view, and unfold the grand ordinance of nature, that, even without luxury, without plebeians, without a ſenate, and without ſlaves, *the military ſpirit of Rome alone muſt have ultimately deſtroyed it; and that*

that ſword, which it ſo often drew againſt innocent cities and nations, have returned into it's own bowels. But here all hiſtory ſpeaks for me. When the legions, unſatiated with ſpoil, found nothing more to plunder, and on the frontiers of Parthia and Germany ſaw an end to their fame, what could they do, but turn back, and devour the parent ſtate? The fearful tragedy began with the times of Marius and Sylla: attached to their commanders, or paid by them, the returning armies revenged their generals on their antagoniſts, even in the midſt of their country, and Rome was deluged with blood. This tragedy continued. When Pompey and Cæſar led againſt each other dearly paid armies, in the fields where once the Muſes ſung, and Apollo paſtured his flocks as a ſhepherd; romans, fighting againſt romans, decided the fate of their country at this diſtance. So it proceeded in the barbarous compact of the triumvirs at Modena, which in a ſingle liſt condemned to death or baniſhment three hundred ſenators, and two thouſand knights, and extorted two hundred thouſand talents * chiefly from Rome, and even from the women: as it did after the battle of Philippi, where Brutus fell; before the war againſt the younger Pompey, the nobler ſon of a great father; after the battle of Actium; and on other occaſions.

It was in vain that the weak, unfeeling Auguſtus acted the part of clemency and the love of peace: the empire had been won by the ſword; the ſword

* £. 3875000.

muſt

muſt maintain it, or by the ſword it muſt fall. If the romans began to ſlumber; the nations that had been injured, or put into commotion, would not ſlumber too: they demanded vengeance, and retaliated when opportunity arrived. In the roman empire the cæſars ever remained nothing more than commanders in chief of the armies: and many of them, who forgot their ſtations, were dreadfully reminded of them by their ſoldiers. Theſe ſet up, and put down emperors: till at length the commander of the prætorian guards made himſelf grand vizir, and the ſenators contemptible puppets. In a ſhort time, too, the ſenate was compoſed wholly of ſoldiers; of ſoldiers whom time had ſo enfeebled, that they were fit neither for war nor counſel. The empire fell to pieces: rival emperors perſecuted and aſſailed each other: foreign nations preſſed into the empire, and enemies were admitted into the army, who allured other enemies. Thus the provinces were torn and ravaged; and proud, eternal Rome fell, deſerted and betrayed by it's own commanders. A fearful monument of the end, that every where awaits the thirſt of conqueſt, whether in great or little ſtates; and more particularly the ſpirit of military deſpotiſm, according to the juſt laws of nature. Never was a martial ſtate more firm and extenſive than that of Rome; and never was a corpſe conveyed more horribly to the grave; ſo that after Pompey and Cæſar another conqueror could never have been expected, or another regiment of ſoldiers, to ariſe in a civilized nation.

Powerful Deſtiny! has the hiſtory of the romans

been preſerved, has half the World been a victim to the ſword, to teach us this leſſon? And yet we learn from it nothing but words; or, miſunderſtood, it has formed new romans, incapable however of equalling their prototype. Thoſe ancient romans have appeared but once upon the ſtage, and acted, chiefly as private perſons, a tremendouſly grand tragedy, the repetition of which, for humanity's ſake, we can never deſire. Let us examine, however, what greatneſs and ſplendour this tragedy has exhibited in it's progreſs.

CHAPTER V.

Character, Sciences, and Arts of the Romans.

AFTER what has been ſaid, juſtice demands, that we ſhould name with due praiſe thoſe noble-minded individuals, who, in the unfavourable ſituation, in which deſtiny had placed them, bravely ſacrificed themſelves for what they called the good of their country, and in the ſhort courſe of their lives performed deeds reaching almoſt the ſummit of human powers. Following the courſe of hiſtory, I ſhall mention as deſerving fame in different degrees a Junius Brutus and Poplicola, Mutius Scævola and Coriolanus, Valeria and Veturia, the three hundred Fabii and Cincinnatus, Camillus and Decius, Fabricius and Regulus, Marcellus and Fabius, the Scipios and Catos, Cornelia and her unfortunate ſons; to whom, if military glory alone were to be conſidered, we ſhall add Marius and Sylla, Pompey and

and Cæſar; and, if good intentions and endeavours deſerve praiſe, Marcus Brutus, Cicero, Agrippa, Druſus, and Germanicus. Neither muſt we forget among the emperors Titus, the delight of mankind, the juſt and good Nerva, the fortunate Trajan, the indefatigable Adrian, the good Antoninus, the vigilant Severus, the manly Aurelian, and other powerful props of a ſinking edifice. But as theſe men are better known to every one, than even the greeks themſelves, I may be excuſed if I ſpeak generally of the character of the romans in their beſt ages, and conſider this character as a conſequence of the circumſtances of the times.

If a name were to be given to impartiality and firm reſolve, to indefatigable activity in words and deeds, and a determinate ardent purſuit of victory or honour; if to that cool courage, which peril cannot daunt, misfortune cannot bend, and ſucceſs cannot intoxicate; it muſt be that of roman fortitude. Many perſons even of the loweſt order in this ſtate have diſplayed this virtue in ſo conſpicuous a manner, that we, particularly in our youth, when we view the romans chiefly on the moſt brilliant ſide, honour ſuch perſonages of the old World as great departed ſpirits. Their generals ſtride like giants from one quarter of the Globe to another, and bear the fate of nations in their prompt and powerful hands. Thrones are overturned by their foot as they paſs, and they determine the life or death of myriads with a word. Perilous height, on which they ſtand! Ruinous game, where crowns

are the ſtake, and where the wealth of nations, and the lives of millions, are played away!

On this height they walk as ſimple romans, diſdaining the pomp of barbarian kings; the helmet their crown, the coat of mail their only decoration.

And when on this ſummit of wealth and power I hear their manly eloquence, and ſee the unwearied activity of their domeſtic or patriotic virtues; when in the throng of battle, or in the tumult of the Forum, the countenance of Cæſar retains it's conſtant ſerenity, and his heart beats with magnanimous clemency even toward his enemies; great man, even with all the vices, into which levity led thee, if thou didſt not deſerve to be monarch of Rome, no man ever did! But Cæſar was more than this; he was Cæſar. The higheſt throne on Earth decorated itſelf with his name: O that it could have adorned itſelf with his ſpirit alſo! that for ages it could have been animated with the benevolent, vigilant, comprehenſive mind of Cæſar!

But there ſtands his friend Brutus with drawn dagger. Worthy Brutus! thy evil genius appeared to thee not for the firſt time at Sardis or Philippi: long before hadſt thou ſeen it in the ſhape of thy country, to which, though of ſofter ſoul than thy rude foreſathers, thou madeſt a ſacrifice of the ſacred rights of friendſhip and humanity. Wanting the mind of a Cæſar and the vulgar ferociouſneſs of a Sylla, thou couldſt not profit by the deed impoſed upon thee; and waſt compelled to abandon Rome, now Rome no longer, to the wild deſigns of an Antony and an Octavius: Antony,

who

who laid all the glory of Rome at the feet of an egyptian ſtrumpet; Octavius, who from the chamber of a Livia ruled with a ſemblance of divine tranquillity the wearied World. Nothing was left for thee, but thy own ſword: a melancholy yet neceſſary reſource for an unfortunate roman.

Whence aroſe this great character of the romans? From their education; often from family pride, and the glory of a name; from their occupations; from the condenſation of the ſenate, the people, and all nations, in the central point of the ſovereignty of the World; and laſtly from the fortunate, unfortunate neceſſity, in which the romans found themſelves. Hence every part of roman greatneſs was common to the people, as well as the nobler families; to the women, as well as the men. The daughters of Scipio and Cato, the wife of a Brutus, the mother and ſiſter of the Gracchi, could not act unbecoming their families: nay, noble roman ladies frequently excelled the men in prudence and worth. Thus Terentia poſſeſſed more heroic courage than Cicero; Veturia, more noble-mindedneſs than Coriolanus; Paulina, more fortitude than Seneca. No natural advantages could produce in an eaſtern haram, or a gyneceum of Greece, thoſe female virtues, which bloſſomed in the public and domeſtic life of the romans: but it muſt be confeſſed, that, in the times of roman depravity, female vices appeared, at which humanity ſhudders. Even ſo early as the ſubjugation of the latins, a hundred and ſeventy roman wives agreed to poiſon their huſbands; and, when they

were diſcovered, quaffed off the fatal portion like heroes. The deeds, which the women of Rome were capable of perpetrating under the emperors, want a name. The deepeſt ſhade borders on the ſtrongeſt light: a ſtepmother Livia, and the faithful Antonia-Druſus, a Plancina and Agrippina-Germanicus, a Meſſalina and Octavia, appear ſide by ſide.

If we would eſtimate the merits of the romans in regard to ſcience, we muſt take their peculiar character into conſideration, and require from them no grecian arts. Their language was the æolian dialect, intermingled with almoſt all the tongues of Italy. From this rude form it was ſlowly improved; and yet, with all it's improvement, it could never completely attain that eaſe, beauty, and perſpicuity, which diſtinguiſh the greek. It is conciſe, grave, and worthy to be the language of the legiſlators and ſovereigns of the World: in every reſpect a type of the roman mind. As the romans did not become acquainted with the greeks, till their character and political ſtate had long been formed by the latins, the etruſcans, and their own efforts; it was late, before their native eloquence began, to receive any poliſh from Greece. We will paſs over, therefore, their firſt dramatic and poetical attempts, which unqueſtionably contributed much to the formation of their language, and ſpeak of what with them took deeper root; *legiſlation*, *oratory*, and *hiſtory*; flowers of the intellect, which their occupations produced, and in which the roman genius is more particularly diſplayed.

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Here, too, we have to regret, that fate has favoured us with ſo little: for they, whoſe thirſt of conqueſt deprived us of ſo many works of other nations, were obliged, in like manner, to ſubmit the productions of their own genius to deſtructive time. Not to mention the ancient annals of their prieſts, the heroic hiſtories of Ennius and Nævius, or the attempt of a Fabius Pictor; where are the hiſtories of a Cincius, Cato, Libo, Poſthumius, Piſo, Caſſius Hemina, Servilian, Fannius, Sempronius, Cælius Antipater, Aſellio, Gellius, Lucinius, and others? Where are the lives of Æmilius Scaurus, Rutilius Rufus, Lutatius Catulus, Sylla, Auguſtus, Agrippa, and Tiberius, of an Agrippina-Germanicus, and even of a Claudius, Trajan, &c., written by themſelves? Where, too, are the numerous hiſtorical works of the moſt important perſons of the ſtate in the moſt important periods of Romé? of Hortenſius, Atticus, Siſenna, Lutatius, Tubero, Lucceius, Balbus, Brutus, and Tiro; of Valerius Meſſala, Cremutius Cordus, Domitius, Corbulo, and Cluvius Rufus? where the many loſt works of Cornelius Nepos, Salluſt, Livy, Trogus, Pliny, and others? I inſert theſe names here, to abaſh thoſe moderns, who ſet themſelves far above the romans: for where is the modern nation, that can reckon among it's princes, generals, and chief officers of ſtate, ſo many and ſo great hiſtorians, as theſe pretendedly barbarous romans, in ſo ſhort a time, and during events of ſo much importance, in which they were actively employed? From the few fragments, yet remaining as ſpecimens of a

Cornelius, Cæſar, Livy, &c., roman hiſtory, it muſt be confeſſed, has not the charms and pleaſing beauty of the greek; but it poſſeſſes roman dignity, and much philoſophical and political wiſdom in a Salluſt, Tacitus, and others. Where great actions are achieved, men think and write with dignity: ſlavery palſies the tongue, as appears from the later roman hiſtory itſelf: and, alas! the majority of the roman hiſtorians, during the times of roman liberty, or while that liberty was but half deſtroyed, are wholly loſt. An irreparable loſs: for ſuch men can live but once; but once can write their own hiſtory.

Roman Hiſtory walks by the ſide of Eloquence, her ſiſter, and the Art of War and of Politics, their common mother. Thus ſeveral of the greateſt of the romans were not only ſkilled in theſe ſciences, but writers alſo. The greek and roman hiſtorians are unjuſtly cenſured for the political and military ſpeeches, which they have frequently introduced into their narrative: for as public ſpeeches formed the chain, to which every affair of the commonwealth was linked, the hiſtorian could not find a more natural inſtrument to connect events, preſent them in different points of view, and enter into a philoſophical elucidation of them. Theſe ſpeeches afford the writer a far more elegant mode of philoſophiſing, than that ſubſequently adopted by Tacitus and his brethren, who, compelled by neceſſity, uniformly intermix their own reflections. Tacitus, however, has been unjuſtly criticiſed alſo, for his philoſophiſing ſpirit; for both in his delineations,

neations, and in the ſeverity of their ſtyle, he is in heart and mind a roman. It was impoſſible for him to relate events, without unfolding their cauſes, and painting in black colours what was deteſtable. His hiſtory ſighs for liberty; and it's obſcure conciſe tone diſplays deeper regret for it's loſs, than words could have expreſſed. Hiſtory and eloquence enjoy only times of freedom, that is of public activity in politics and war: they periſh with theſe; and, as the ſtate grows indolent, their thoughts and expreſſion are benumbed.

With regard to orators, though not inferiour in fame to the hiſtorians, we have leſs to deplore. Cicero alone is ſufficient, to indemnify us for the loſs of many. In his writings on oratory he gives us the characters at leaſt of his great predeceſſors and contemporaries; and to us his orations may ſupply the place of thoſe of Cato, Antonius, Hortenſius, Cæſar, and others. The fate of this man is illuſtrious: more illuſtrious after his death, than during his life. He has preſerved to us not only the eloquence of Rome, in his precepts and examples, but the greater part of the grecian philoſophy; for of many of it's ſchools we ſhould have known little more than the names, and not their doctrines, but for the enviable garb, in which he has preſerved them. His eloquence excels the thunder of Demoſthenes, not only in philoſophical clearneſs and perſpicuity, but in urbanity and true patriotiſm. Almoſt to him alone is Europe indebted for the reſtoration of the pure latin language; an inſtrument, that has unqueſtionably done much for the human

human mind, notwithſtanding it's many abuſes. Light lie the turf upon thee, therefore, much occupied and much perſecuted man, the *pater patriæ* of all the latin ſchools in Europe! For thy frailties thou didſt ſufficient penance in thy lifetime: now thou art dead, may men enjoy the fruits of thy learned, elegant, juſt, and noble ſpirit, and learn from thy letters and works, if not to adore, at leaſt to love thee with gratitude and high eſteem *.

The poetry of the romans was but a foreign flower, which bloſſomed beautifully in Latium, it is true, and here and there aſſumed a more delicate tint, but it was incapable of producing any new fruits of it's own. The etruſcans, indeed, had already prepared the ruder warrior for poetry by their ſalian and funereal ſongs, and their feſcennine, atellanian, and ſcenic games. With the capture of Tarentum and other cities of Græcia Magna, grecian poets alſo were captured, who endeavoured to render the rude dialect of the conquerors of Greece more pleaſing to them, by the help of the more refined muſes of their mother country. The merits of theſe moſt ancient latin poets are known to us only from a few verſes and fragments; but we are aſtoniſhed at the number of their tragedies and comedies, that we find quoted, not only in ancient times, but in part even in the beſt ages. Time has deſtroyed them; but I do not think the loſs

* For the character of this man, which has often been miſunderſtood, read Middleton's life of Cicero, an excellent work, not only as far as reſpects the writings of this roman, but the general hiſtory of his time.

great, compared with that of the greeks; for many of them were founded on grecian ſtories, and probably imitations of grecian manners. The roman people delighted too much in farces and pantomimes, in the circenſian games and combats of gladiators, to poſſeſs a grecian ear, or grecian taſte for the theatre. The dramatic muſe was introduced to the romans as a ſlave; and a ſlave with them ſhe ever remained: ſtill I much regret the loſs of the hundred and thirty pieces of Plautus, and the ſhipwreck of a hundred and eight plays of Terence; as well as the poems of Ennius, a man of ſtrong mind, particularly his Scipio and his didactic poems: for in Terence alone, to uſe Cæſar's expreſſion, we had at leaſt half Menander. Cicero, too, we have to thank for having preſerved to us a Lucretius, a poet of a roman ſoul; and to Auguſtus we are indebted for a Semi-Homer in the Æneid. Let us thank Cornutus, likewiſe, for not having deprived us of ſome of the exerciſes of his noble pupil Perſius: and you, alſo, ye monks, for having ſaved, as means of learning latin, Horace, and Boethius, with ſomething of Terence, but above all your Virgil, as an orthodox poet. The ſole unſpotted laurel in the crown of Auguſtus is, that he cheriſhed the muſes, and allowed ſcience a free wing.

From the roman poets to the philoſophers I turn with pleaſure: many were both at the ſame time, and indeed philoſophers in their hearts as well as heads. In Rome no ſyſtems were invented; but philoſophy was practiſed, and introduced into law, politics, and private life. Never did a didactic poet write

write with more force and fire than Lucretius; for he believed what he taught: never ſince the time of Plato has the Academy been renovated with greater charms, than in the elegant dialogues of Cicero. The ſtoic philoſophy, likewiſe, not only obtained great ſway in roman juriſprudence, and formed a ſtrict rule for the conduct of men, but acquired a practical ſolidity and beauty in the writings of Seneca, the excellent meditations of Marcus Aurelius, the maxims of Epictetus, &c., to which the doctrines of various ſchools have evidently contributed. Exerciſe and neceſſity in many ſevere ſituations of the roman ſtate ſteeled the breaſts of the romans and fortified their courage: they examined into what was proper to be followed, and availed themſelves of what the greeks had conceived, not as idle ornament, but as the weapons and armour of the mind. The ſtoic philoſophy had great effect on the heads and hearts of the romans: not indeed in exciting them to the conqueſt of the world, but in promoting juſtice, rectitude, and the internal conſolation of men unjuſtly oppreſſed. For the romans were men; and as innocent poſterity ſuffered for the ſins of their progenitors, they ſought to ſtrengthen themſelves as they could; they firmly appropriated to themſelves what was not of their own invention.

The hiſtory of roman literature is to us a ruin of ruins; for, with the collections of it, we have loſt, for the moſt part, the ſources whence thoſe collections were drawn. What labour ſhould we have been ſpared, what light would have been thrown upon

upon antiquity, if the writings of Varro, or the two thouſand books from which Pliny compiled, had come down to us! From what was known of the World to the romans, Ariſtotle undoubtedly would have made a collection different from Pliny's: yet is the book of Pliny a treaſure, which ſhows the induſtry and roman ſpirit of the writer, notwithſtanding his ignorance in particular points. Thus, too, the hiſtory of roman juriſprudence is the hiſtory of great diligence and acuteneſs, which could have been exerciſed, and ſo long purſued, in the roman ſtate alone: what in the courſe of time has been made out of it, or foiſted into it, muſt not be charged on the lawyers of ancient Rome. In ſhort, defective as roman literature appears in almoſt every branch compared with the greek, this muſt not be aſcribed to the circumſtances of the times alone, but to the very nature of the romans alſo, for ages proudly aſpiring to be the lawgivers of the World.

The ſequel of the work will ſhow this, when we ſee a new Rome ariſing from the aſhes of the old, in a very different form, but yet big with the ſpirit of conqueſt.

Laſtly I have to ſpeak of the arts of the romans, in which they diſplayed themſelves to the preſent World, and to poſterity, as the ſovereigns of the Earth, at whoſe nod were the materials of every country, and the hands of every conquered nation. From the beginning they were inſpired with the deſire of proclaiming the ſplendour of their victories by monuments of fame, and the majeſty of their city by magnificent and durable ſtructures; ſo that they

they very early thought of nothing leſs than the eternity of their proud exiſtence. The temples that Romulus and Numa erected, and the places they aſſigned for public aſſemblies, already had victory in view, and a mighty popular government; till, ſoon after, Ancus and Tarquin laid the firm foundations of that architecture, which ultimately roſe almoſt to immenſity. The etruſcan king built the walls of Rome of hewn ſtone. To ſupply his ſubjects with water, and keep the city clean, he erected thoſe vaſt reſervoirs, the ruins of which even now are among the wonders of the world; for modern Rome is unable even to clean them, and keep them in repair. In the ſame ſtyle were it's galleries, it's temples, it's courts of juſtice, and that immenſe circus, which, erected for the amuſement of the people merely, excites our veneration even now in it's ruins. This path was purſued by the kings, the haughty Tarquin in particular; afterwards by the conſuls and ediles; then by the conquerors of the World, and the dictators; but chiefly by Julius Cæſar; and the emperors followed. Thus by degrees aroſe thoſe gates and towers, theatres and amphitheatres, circuſes and ſtadia, triumphal arches and honorary columns, ſplendid monuments and mauſolea, roads and aqueducts, palaces and baths, which diſplay the eternal footſteps of theſe lords of the World, in the provinces as well as in Rome and Italy. To contemplate many of theſe, even in their ruins, almoſt fatigues the eye; and the mind ſinks under the conception of the vaſt idea, from which the artiſt generated theſe grand deſigns of

ſolidity

ſolidity and magnificence. Still more little do we feel ourſelves, when we reflect on the purpoſes of theſe ſtructures, the way of life that was purſued in and among them, the people to whoſe uſe they were dedicated, and the perſons, not unfrequently private individuals, by whom they were erected. Then the mind feels, that the World never contained but one Rome; and that one genius prevailed, from the wooden amphitheatre of Curio, to the Coliſeum of Veſpaſian; from the temple of Jupiter Stator, to the Pantheon of Agrippa, or the temple of Peace; from the firſt triumphal gate of a returning victor, to the triumphal arches, and honorary columns of Auguſtus, Titus, Trajan, Severus, and throughout every monument of public or private life. This genius was not the ſpirit of general liberty and comprehenſive benevolence: for, when we reflect on the enormous toil of the labourers, who, as the ſlaves of war, were often obliged to procure theſe mountains of ſtone and marble from diſtant lands; when we conſider the ſums expended on theſe monſters of art, ſums wrung from the blood and ſweat of plundered and oppreſſed provinces; when we think of the barbarouſly proud and ſavage taſte, which moſt of theſe edifices cheriſhed, by their bloody combats of gladiators, their inhuman battles with wild beaſts, their barbarous triumphal proceſſions, &c.; not to mention the luxury of their baths and palaces; we are compelled to think, that Rome was founded by ſome demon inimical to mankind, to exhibit to all human beings traces of his ſupernatural, demoniacal ſovereignty.

On

On this ſubject let the reader turn to the complaints of the elder Pliny, and every noble roman; let him trace the wars and oppreſſions, that brought to Rome the arts of Etruria, Greece, and Egypt: he will probably admire the mountains of roman magnificence, as the ſummit of human greatneſs and power; but at the ſame time he will learn to deteſt them, as the murderous and tyrannical graves of mankind. The rules of art, however, remain what they were: and though the romans, properly ſpeaking, invented nothing in the arts, nay latterly combined together what had elſewhere been invented, in a manner ſufficiently barbarous; yet, in this accumulating, piling taſte, they ſhow themſelves the great lords of the Earth.

Excudent alii ſpirantia mollius æra:
Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus:
Orabunt cauſas melius: cœlique meatus
Deſcribent radio, et ſurgentia ſidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hæ tibi erunt artes, paciſque imponere morem,
Parcere ſubjectis & debellare ſuperbos.

Æneid. Lib. VI, l. 867–73.

Let others better mould the running maſs
Of metals, and inform the breathing braſs;
And ſoften into fleſh a marble face:
Plead better at the bar: deſcribe the ſkies,
And when the ſtars deſcend, and when they riſe.
But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful ſway,
To rule mankind, and make the world obey;
Diſpoſing peace, and war, thy own majeſtic way.

Dryden.

We

We would willingly excuſe the romans for the want of all the grecian arts they deſpiſed, and which notwithſtanding they employed for uſe or ornament; nay for the neglect of improving the nobleſt ſciences, aſtronomy, chronology, &c.; and undertake a pilgrimage to the places, where theſe flowers of the intellect bloomed in their native ſoil; had they but left them there, and exerciſed with more philanthropy that art of government, which they deemed their ſupreme excellence. But this was not in their power; as their wiſdom was ſubſervient only to their overweening authority, and the pretended pride of nations bent to a ſtill greater pride.

CHAPTER VI.

General Reflections on the Hiſtory and Fate of Rome.

IT has been of old an exerciſe of political philoſophy, to determine, whether Rome were more indebted for her greatneſs to fortune, or to valour. Already Plutarch, and many other writers, both greek and roman, have given their opinions on this point; and in modern times the queſtion has been handled by almoſt every reflecting adventurer in the paths of hiſtory. Plutarch, after all that he is obliged to allow to roman valour, gives fortune the preponderance: in this inquiry, however, as in his other writings, he ſhows himſelf the flowery,

pleaſing greek, not the poſſeſſor of a comprehenſive mind fully equal to his ſubject. Moſt of the romans, on the contrary, aſcribe all to their valour; and the philoſophers of later times have diſcovered a ſyſtem of policy, on which the roman power was erected, from the firſt foundation ſtone to it's greateſt amplitude. Hiſtory clearly ſhows, that neither of theſe hypotheſes is excluſively true; but that all muſt be taken in conjunction for a ſolution of the problem. Valour, fortune, and policy muſt have combined, to effect what was actually accompliſhed; and we find theſe three deities leagued in favour of Rome from the days of Romulus. Whether, after the manner of the ancients, we term the whole aſſemblage of living cauſes and effects nature, or fortune, the valour of the romans, not excluding even their barbarous ſeverity, together with their policy and cunning, muſt be taken as part of this all-ruling fortune. Our view muſt ever remain incomplete, if we attach ourſelves excluſively to either of theſe qualities, and, while we contemplate the excellencies of the romans, forget their failings and vices; while we conſider their intimate character, omit concomitant circumſtances; and, while we admire their firmneſs and ſkill in military affairs, overlook thoſe accidents, by which they were often ſo happily aſſiſted. The geeſe, that ſaved the Capitol, were not leſs the tutelary deities of Rome, than the courage of Camillus, the temporizing of Fabius, or Jupiter Stator. In the phyſical world all things that act together, and upon each other, whether generating, ſupporting, or deſtroying, muſt

be conſidered as one whole: the ſame in the natural world of hiſtory.

It is a pleaſing exerciſe of the mind, to inquire, on this occaſion or that, what Rome would have been under different circumſtances: as, if it had been founded on a different ſpot; if at an early period it had been tranſported to Veii; if the Capitol had been taken by Brennus: if Italy had been attacked by Alexander; if the city had been conquered by Hannibal; or if his counſel had been followed by Antiochus. In like manner we may inquire, how Cæſar would have reigned in the place of Auguſtus; how Germanicus, in the place of Tiberius: what would have been the ſtate of the World, without the powerful ſpread of chriſtianity: &c. Theſe inquiries would lead us to ſuch an accurate concatenation of circumſtances, that at length we ſhould learn to conſider Rome, after the manner of the oriental ſage, as a living creature, capable under ſuch circumſtances alone of riſing from the banks of the Tiber, as from the ſea; gradually acquiring ſtrength to contend with all nations, by ſea and land, ſubdue, and cruſh them; and laſtly, finding within itſelf the limits of it's glory, and the origin of it's corruption, as it actually did find them. Thus contemplated, every thing arbitrary and irrational vaniſhes from hiſtory. In it, as in every production of nature, all, or nothing, is fortuitous; all, or nothing, is arbitrary. Every phenomenon in hiſtory is a natural production, and for man perhaps of all moſt worthy contemplation; as in it ſo much depends on men, and he may find the moſt

uſeful kernel, though included perhaps in a bitter ſhell, even in what lies without the ſphere of his own powers, in the overbearing weight of times and circumſtances; in the oppreſſion of a Greece, a Carthage, or Numantia; in the murder of a Sertorius, a Spartacus, or a Viriatus; in the ruin of the younger Pompey, Druſus, Germanicus, or Britannicus. This is the only philoſophical method of contemplating hiſtory, and it has been even unconſciouſly practiſed by all thinking minds.

Nothing has tended more to obſtruct this impartial view, than the attempt to conſider even the bloody hiſtory of Rome as ſubſervient to ſome ſecret limited deſign of providence: as, for inſtance, that Rome was raiſed to ſuch a height principally for the production of orators and poets, for extending the roman law and latin language to the limits of it's empire, and ſmoothing the way for the introduction of chriſtianity. No one is ignorant of the prodigious evils, under which Rome, and the World around her, groaned, before ſuch orators and poets could ariſe; how dear, for inſtance, Sicily bought Cicero's ſpeech againſt Verres; and how much his orations againſt Catiline, and his philippics againſt Antony, coſt his country and himſelf. Thus a ſhip muſt be loſt, to ſave one pearl; and thouſands muſt loſe their lives, merely that one flower might ſpring from their aſhes, ſoon to be diſſipated by the winds. To purchaſe the Æneid of a Virgil, and the tranquil muſe and urbane epiſtles of a Horace, rivers of roman blood muſt previouſly flow, nations and kingdoms innumerable muſt be

be destroyed. Were these fine fruits of a forced golden age worth the expense they cost? The case is the same with the roman law: for who knows not what vexations were suffered through it, and how many more humane institutions in very different countries it destroyed? Foreign nations were judged conformably to manners, with which they were unacquainted; crimes and punishments were introduced among them, of which they had never heard: nay, has not the general progress of this jurisprudence, adapted to the constitution of Rome alone, after a thousand oppressions, so extinguished or vitiated the characters of all it's conquered nations, that, instead of their peculiar stamp, the roman eagle at last every where appears, covering with feeble wings the exenterated, eyeless carcases of murdered provinces? The latin language, too, neither gained any thing from conquered nations, nor conferred any thing upon them. It was corrupted, and at length became a mixed jargon, not only in the provinces, but even in Rome itself. Through it's means, also, the chaste beauty of the more elegant greek was contaminated; and the languages of many nations, which would have been far more useful, both to them and to us, than a corrupt latin, have vanished without leaving behind them the smallest remains. Lastly, with regard to the christian religion; highly as I venerate the benefits it has conferred on mankind, so far am I from believing, that a single milestone was erected in Rome by human hands on it's account. For it Romulus founded not his city, Pompey and Crassus entered

not into Judea: ſtill leſs were all the roman eſtabliſhments in Europe and Aſia made, to prepare it's way over the World. Rome embraced chriſtianity no otherwiſe than it embraced the worſhip of Iſis, and all the contemptible ſuperſtitions of the eaſt: it would be derogatory to divine Providence, to ſuppoſe, that, for her nobleſt work, the propagation of truth and virtue, ſhe could employ no other inſtrument, than the tyrannical and bloody hands of the romans. The chriſtian religion raiſed itſelf by it's own energy, as the roman empire grew by it's own powers; and if they at length united, it was to the advantage of neither: a romiſh chriſtian baſtard ſprung from the union, of which there are many who wiſh, that it had never been born.

Natural hiſtory has reaped no advantage from the philoſophy of final cauſes, the ſectaries of which have been inclined, to ſatisfy themſelves with probable conjecture, inſtead of patient inquiry: how much leſs the hiſtory of mankind, with it's endleſsly complicated machinery of cauſes mutually acting upon each other!

We muſt alſo diſapprove the opinion, that the romans came on the ſtage in the ſucceſſion of ages, to form a more perfect link in the chain of cultivation than the greeks, as in a picture deſigned by man. In whatever the greeks excelled, there the romans never went beyond them: on the other hand, in what was properly their own, they learned nothing from the greeks. They endeavoured to profit by all nations, of which they had any knowledge, even to the indians and troglodytes: but this they did as romans;

romans; and it may be queſtioned, whether to their advantage or to their detriment. Now as little as all other nations exiſted for the ſake of the romans, or framed for them their political inſtitutions ages before, no more did the greeks. Athens and the italian colonies made laws for themſelves, not for the romans: and if Athens had never exiſted, Rome might have ſent to Scythia for her twelve tables. In many reſpects, too, the grecian laws were more perfect than the roman; and the defects of the latter diffuſed themſelves over a far more extenſive region. If perchance they were in any points more humane, they were ſo after the roman mode; but it would have been altogether unnatural, if the conquerors of ſo many civilized people had not learned at leaſt a ſemblance of humanity, by which nations were often deceived.

Nothing remains, therefore, but to conſider the roman nation, and the latin language, as bridges placed by Providence, for the conveyance of ſome of the treaſures of antiquity to us. Yet for this purpoſe the bridges were the worſt that could have been contrived, for of moſt of theſe treaſures we were robbed by their very erection. The romans were deſtroyers, and in their turn deſtroyed: but deſtroyers are no preſervers of the World. They irritated all nations, till at length they became their prey; and Providence performed no miracle in their behalf. Let us, therefore, contemplate this, like any other natural phenomenon, the cauſes and effects of which we would inveſtigate freely, without any preconceived hypotheſis. The romans were

preciſely what they were capable of becoming: every thing periſhable belonging to them periſhed, and what was ſuſceptible of permanence remained. Ages roll on; and with them the offspring of ages, multiform man. Every thing, that could bloſſom upon Earth, has bloſſomed; each in it's due ſeaſon, and it's proper ſphere: it has withered away, and will bloſſom again, when it's time arrives. The work of Providence purſues it's eternal courſe, according to grand univerſal laws: and to the conſideration of this we proceed with unpreſuming ſteps.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XV.

'THUS every thing in hiſtory is tranſient: the inſcription on her temple is, evaneſcence and decay. We tread on the aſhes of our forefathers, and ſtalk over the entombed ruins of human inſtitutions and kingdoms. Egypt, Perſia, Greece, Rome, flit before us like ſhadows: like ghoſts they riſe from their graves, and appear to us in the field of hiſtory.

'When any political body has outlived it's maturity, who would not wiſh it a quiet diſſolution? Who does not ſhudder, when, in the circle of living active powers, he ſtumbles over the graves of ancient inſtitutions, which rob the living of light, and narrow their habitations? And when the preſent race has cleared away theſe catacombs, how ſoon will it's inſtitutions have a ſimilar appearance to another, and be in like manner levelled with the earth!

'The cauſe of this tranſitorineſs of all terreſtrial things lies in their eſſence, in the place they inhabit, and in the general laws, to which our nature is ſubject. Man's body is a fragile, ever-renovating ſhell, which at length can renew itſelf no longer: but his

his mind operates upon Earth only in and with the body. We fancy ourſelves independent; yet we depend on all nature: implicated in a chain of inceſſantly fluctuating things, we muſt follow the laws of it's permutation, which are nothing more than to be born, exiſt, and die. A ſlender thread connects the human race, which is every moment breaking, to be tied anew. The ſage, whom time has made wiſe, ſinks into the grave; that his ſucceſſor may likewiſe begin his courſe as a child, perhaps madly deſtroy the work of his father, and leave to his ſon the ſame vain toil, in which he too conſumes his days. Thus year runs into year: thus generations and empires are linked together. The Sun ſets, that night may ſucceed, and mankind rejoice at the beams of a new morn.

'Now were any advancement obſervable in all this, it would be ſomething: but where is it to be found in hiſtory? In it we every where perceive deſtruction, without being able to diſcern, that what riſes anew is better, than what was deſtroyed. Nations flouriſh and decay: but in a faded nation no new flower, not to ſay a more beautiful one, ever blooms. Cultivation proceeds; yet becomes not more perfect by progreſs: in new places new capacities are developed; the ancient of the ancient places irrevocably paſs away. Were the romans more wiſe, or more happy, than the greeks? are we more ſo than either?

'The nature of man remains ever the ſame: in the ten thouſandth year of the World he will be born with paſſions, as he was born with paſſions in the

the two-thouſandth, and ran through his courſe of follies to a late, imperfect, uſeleſs wiſdom. We wander in a labyrinth, in which our lives occupy but a ſpan; ſo that it is to us nearly a matter of indifference, whether there be any entrance or outlet to the intricate path.

'Melancholy fate of the human race! with all their exertions chained to an Ixion's wheel, to Siſyphus's ſtone, and condemned to the proſpect of a Tantalus. We muſt will; and we muſt die, without having ſeen the fruit of our labours ripen, or learned a ſingle reſult of human endeavours from the whole courſe of hiſtory. If a people ſtand alone, it's characters wear away under the hand of Time: if it come into colliſion with others, it is thrown into the crucible, where it's impreſſion is equally effaced. Thus we hew out blocks of ice; thus we write on the waves of the ſea: the wave glides by, the ice melts; our palaces, and our thoughts, are both no more.

'To what purpoſe then the unbleſſed labour, to which God has condemned man as a daily taſk during his ſhort life? To what purpoſe the burden, under which every one toils on his way to the grave; while no one is aſked, whether he will take it up or not, whether he will be born on this ſpot, at this period, and in this circle, or no? Nay, as moſt of the evils among mankind ariſe from themſelves, from their defective conſtitutions and governments, from the arrogance of oppreſſors, and from the almoſt inevitable weakneſs both of the governors and the governed; what fate was it, that ſubjected man

to

to the yoke of his fellows, to the mad or fooliſh will of his brother? Let a man ſum up the periods of the happineſs and unhappineſs of nations, their good and bad rulers, nay the wiſdom and folly, the predominance of reaſon and of paſſion, in the beſt: how vaſt will be the negative number! Look at the deſpots of Aſia, of Africa, nay of almoſt the whole Earth: behold thoſe monſters on the throne of Rome, under whom a World groaned for centuries: note the troubles and wars, the oppreſſions and tumults, that took place, and mark the event. A Brutus falls, and an Anthony triumphs: a Germanicus dies, and a Tiberius, a Caligula, a Nero, reign: Ariſtides is baniſhed: Confucius is a wanderer upon the Earth: Socrates, Phocion, Seneca, are put to death. Every where, it muſt be confeſſed, is diſcoverable the propoſition: "what is, is; what can be, will be; what is ſuſceptible of diſſolution, diſſolves:" a melancholy confeſſion, however, which univerſally proclaims, that rude Violence, and his ſiſter, malignant Cunning, are every where victorious upon Earth.'

Thus man doubts, and redoubts, after much apparent hiſtorical experience: nay, this melancholy complaint has in a certain degree the ſuperficies of all earthly occurrences in it's favour: hence I have known many, who on the wide ocean of human hiſtory imagined they had loſt that god, whom on the firm ground of natural knowledge they beheld with their mental eye in every ſtalk of graſs, in every grain of duſt, and adored with overflowing heart. In the temple of the earthly creation, every thing appeared

appeared to them full of omnipotence, and benevolent goodneſs: in the theatre of human actions, on the contrary, for which the periods of our life are calculated, they beheld nothing but a ſtage of conflicting ſenſual paſſions, brutal powers, deſtructive arts, or evaneſcent good purpoſes. To them hiſtory is a ſpider's web, in a corner of the mundane manſion, the intricate threads of which diſplay abundant traces of deſtructive rapine, while it's melancholy centre, the ſpider by which it was ſpun, no where appears.

Yet, if there be a god in nature, there is in hiſtory too: for man is alſo a part of the creation, and in his wildeſt extravagances and paſſions muſt obey laws, not leſs beautiful and excellent than thoſe, by which all the celeſtial bodies move. Now as I am perſuaded, that man is capable of knowing, and deſtined to attain the knowledge of every thing, that he ought to know; I ſtep freely and confidently from the tumultuous ſcenes, through which we have been wandering, to inſpect the beautiful and ſublime laws of nature, by which they have been governed.

CHAPTER I.

Humanity is the End of human Nature; and, with this End, God has put their own Fate into the Hands of Mankind.

THE end of whatever is not merely a dead inſtrument muſt be implicated in itſelf. Were we created, to ſtrive with eternally vain endeavours after a point of perfection external to ourſelves, and which we could never reach, as the magnet turns to the north; we might not only pity ourſelves as blind machines, but the being likewiſe, that had condemned us to ſuch a ſtate of tantaliſm, in forming us for the purpoſe of ſuch a malignant and diabolical ſpectacle. Should we ſay in his exculpation, that ſome good at leaſt was promoted, and our nature preſerved in perpetual activity, by theſe empty endeavours, incapable of ever attaining their object; it muſt be an imperfect, ferocious being, that could deſerve ſuch an exculpation: for in activity that never attains it's end can lie no good; and he has weakly or maliciouſly deceived us, by placing before our eyes ſuch a dream, from a purpoſe unworthy of him. But happily we are taught no ſuch doctrine by the nature of things: if we conſider mankind as we know them, and according to the laws that are intrinſic to them, we perceive nothing in man ſuperiour to humanity; for even if we think of angels, or of gods, we conceive them as ideal, ſuperiour men.

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We have ſeen *, that our nature is evidently organized to this end: for it our finer ſenſes and inſtincts, our reaſon and liberty, our delicate yet durable health, our language, art, and religion, were beſtowed. In all ſtates, in all ſocieties, man has had nothing in view, and could aim at nothing elſe, but humanity, whatever may have been the idea he formed of it. For it, the arrangements of ſex, and the different periods of life, were made by nature; that our childhood might be of long continuance, and we might learn a kind of humanity by means of education. For it, all the different modes of life, throughout the wide World, have been eſtabliſhed, all the forms of ſociety introduced. Hunter, or fiſherman, ſhepherd, huſbandman, or citizen, in every ſtate man has learned to diſcriminate food, and conſtruct habitations for himſelf and his family; to clothe and adorn either ſex, and regulate his domeſtic economy. He invented various laws, and forms of government, the object of all which was, that every one might exerciſe his faculties, and acquire a more pleaſing and free enjoyment of life, undiſturbed by others. For this purpoſe, property was ſecured, and labour, arts, trade, and an extenſive intercourſe between perſons, facilitated: puniſhments were invented for culprits, rewards for the deſerving; and numberleſs moral practices for people of different claſſes, in public and private life, and even in religion, were eſtabliſhed. For this, wars were carried on, treaties were

* Book IV.

made;

made; by degrees a ſort of law of nations and of war, and various compacts of hoſpitality and commerce were framed, ſo that man might meet compaſſion and reſpect beyond the confines of his own country. Thus whatever good appears in hiſtory to have been accompliſhed, humanity was the gainer; whatever fooliſh, vicious, or execrable, was perpetrated, ran counter to humanity: ſo that in all his earthly inſtitutions man can conceive no other end, than what lies in himſelf, that is, in the weak or ſtrong, baſe or noble nature, that God gave him. Now if throughout the whole creation we know nothing, except by what it is, and what it effects, man's end upon Earth is ſhown us by his nature and hiſtory, as by the cleareſt demonſtration.

Let us take a retroſpect of the regions, over which we have been wandering: in all the civil eſtabliſhments from China to Rome, in all the varieties of their political conſtitutions, in every one of their inventions, whether of peace or war, and even in all the faults and barbarities that nations have committed, we diſcern the grand law of nature: let man be man; let him mould his condition according as to himſelf ſhall ſeem beſt. For this nations took poſſeſſion of their land, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in it as they could. Of women and of the ſtate, of ſlaves, clothing, and habitations, of recreation and food, of ſcience and of art, every thing has been made, in the different parts of the Earth, that man thought was capable of being made for his own or for the general good. Thus we every where find mankind poſſeſſing and exerciſing the right

of

of forming themſelves to a kind of humanity, as ſoon as they have diſcerned it. If they have erred, or ſtopped at the half way of an hereditary tradition; they have ſuffered the conſequences of their errour, and done penance for the fault they committed. The deity has in nowiſe bound their hands, farther than by what they were, by time, place, and their intrinſic powers. When they were guilty of faults, he extricated them not by miracles, but ſuffered theſe faults to produce their effects, that man might the better learn to know them.

This law of nature is not more ſimple, than it is worthy of God, conſiſtent, and fertile in it's conſequences to mankind. Were man intended to be what he is, and to become what he was capable of becoming, he muſt preſerve a ſpontaneity of nature, and be encompaſſed by a ſphere of free actions, diſturbed by no preternatural miracle. All inanimate ſubſtances, every ſpecies of living creature that inſtinct guides, have remained what they were from the time of the creation: God made man a deity upon Earth; he implanted in him the principle of ſelf-activity, and ſet this principle in motion from the beginning, by means of the internal and external wants of his nature. Man could not live and ſupport himſelf, without learning to make uſe of his reaſon: no ſooner, indeed, did he begin to make uſe of this, than the door was opened to a thouſand errours and miſtaken attempts; but at the ſame time, and even through theſe very miſtakes and errours, the way was cleared to a better uſe of his reaſon. The more ſpeedily he diſcerned his faults,

the greater the promptitude and energy with which he applied to correct them: the farther he advanced, the more his humanity was formed; and this muſt be formed, or he muſt groan for ages beneath the burden of his miſtakes.

We ſee, too, that Nature has choſen as wide a field for the eſtabliſhment of this law, as the abode of mankind would allow: ſhe organized man as variouſly as the human ſpecies could be organized on this Earth. She placed the negro cloſe to the ape; and ſhe offered for ſolution the grand problem of humanity, to all people, of all times, from the intellect of the æthiop to the moſt refined underſtanding. Scarcely a nation upon Earth is without the neceſſaries of life, to which want and inſtinct guide: for the greater refinement of man's condition more genial climates produce a race of finer mould. But as all beauty and perfection of order lie in the midſt of two extremes; the moſt beautiful form of reaſon and humanity muſt find it's place in the temperate middle region. And this it has abundantly found, according to the natural law of this general fitneſs. For though ſcarcely any of the aſiatic nations can be abſolved from that indolence, which reſted ſatisfied too early with good inſtitutions, and regarded hereditary forms as ſacred and unalterable; yet they muſt be excuſed, when the vaſt extent of their continent is conſidered, together with the circumſtances to which they were expoſed, particularly beyond the mountains. Upon the whole, their firſt attempts at the promotion of humanity, early as they were, conſidered each in it's place

place and time, deſerve praiſe; and ſtill leſs can we refrain from acknowledging the progreſs made by the more active nations on the coaſts of the Mediterranean ſea. Theſe ſhook off the deſpotic yoke of ancient forms of government and traditions, and gave thereby an example of the great and good law of human deſtiny: that, whatever a nation, or a whole race of men, wills for it's own good with firm conviction, and purſues with energy, Nature, who has ſet up for man's aim neither deſpots nor traditions, but the beſt form of humanity, will aſſuredly grant.

The fundamental principle of this divine law of nature reconciles us wonderfully not only with the appearance of our ſpecies all over the Globe, but likewiſe with it's variations through the different periods of time. Every where man is what he was capable of rendering himſelf, what he had the will and the power to become. Were he contented with his condition, or were the means of his improvement not yet ripened in the ample field of time; he remained for ages what he was, and became nothing more. But if he employed the inſtruments God had given him for his uſe, his underſtanding, power, and all the opportunities that a favourable current conveyed to him; he raiſed himſelf higher with art, and improved himſelf with courage. If he did not this, his very indolence ſhowed, that he was little ſenſible of his misfortune: for every lively feeling of injuſtice, accompanied by intelligence and ſtrength, muſt become an emancipating power. The long ſubmiſſion to deſpotiſm,

for inſtance, aroſe by no means from the overbearing might of the deſpots: the eaſy, confiding weakneſs of their ſubjects, and latterly their patient indolence, were it's great and only ſupports. For, it muſt be confeſſed, it is eaſier to bear with patience, than to redreſs ourſelves with vigour; and hence ſo many nations have forborn to aſſert the right, that God has conferred on them in the divine gift of reaſon.

Still there is no doubt, generally ſpeaking, that what has not yet appeared upon Earth will at ſome future period appear: for no preſcription is a bar to the rights of man, and the powers, that God has implanted in him, are ineradicable. We are aſtoniſhed, to ſee how far the greeks and romans advanced in a few centuries, in their ſphere of objects: for, though the aim of their exertions was not always the moſt pure, they proved, that they were capable of reaching it. Their image ſhines in hiſtory, and animates every one, who reſembles them, to ſimilar and better exertions, under the ſame and greater aſſiſtance of fate. In this view the whole hiſtory of nations is to us a ſchool, for inſtructing us in the courſe, by which we are to reach the lovely goal of humanity and worth. So many celebrated nations of old attained an inferiour aim: why ſhould not we ſucceed in the purſuit of a purer and more noble object? They were men like us: their call to the beſt form of humanity was ours, according to the circumſtances of the times, to our knowledge, and to our duties. What they could perform without a miracle, we can and ought to perform: the deity

aſſiſts

aſſiſts us only by means of our own induſtry, our own underſtanding, our own powers. When he had created the Earth, and all it's irrational inhabitants, he formed man, and ſaid to him: 'be my image; a god upon Earth; rule and diſpoſe. Whatever of noble and excellent thy nature will permit thee to produce, bring forth: I will aſſiſt thee by no miracle; for I have placed thy own fate in thy own hand: but all my ſacred, eternal laws of nature will be thy aids.'

Let us conſider ſome of theſe natural laws, which, according to the teſtimony of hiſtory, have promoted the progreſs of humanity in our ſpecies; and, as truly as they are the natural laws of God, will continue, to promote it.

CHAPTER II.

All the deſtructive Powers in Nature muſt not only yield in the Courſe of Time to the maintaining Powers, but muſt ultimately be ſubſervient to the Conſummation of the Whole.

Example the firſt. As the ſubſtance of future worlds lay floating in infinite ſpace, the creator of theſe worlds was pleaſed, to leave matter to form itſelf by means of the internal energies imparted to it. Toward the centre of the whole, the Sun, whatever could find no courſe of it's own, or was attracted by the ſuperiour power of this orb, bent it's way. Whatever found another centre of attraction revolved in like manner around it, and either tended

to it's great focus in an elliptical orbit, or flew off in a parabola or hyperbola, and returned no more. Thus the ether purified itſelf: thus from a confuſed fluctuating chaos aroſe an harmonious ſyſtem of worlds, according to which earths and comets have revolved for ages in regular orbits round their ſun: an eternal proof, that *order aroſe out of confuſion by means of divine implanted powers.* As long as this grand and ſimple law of all powers numbered and balanced againſt each other endures, the ſtructure of the univerſe ſtands firm; for it is founded on a divine rule and quality.

Second example. In like manner as our Earth formed itſelf from a ſhapeleſs maſs into a planet, it's elements ſtruggled and contended upon it, till each found it's place; ſo that, after much wild confuſion, all are now become ſubſervient to the harmoniouſly regulated orb. Land and water, air and fire, ſeaſons and climates, winds and currents, and all it's atmoſpherical phenomena, obey one great law of it's form and denſity, it's motion and diſtance from the Sun, and are regulated in harmony with theſe. Thoſe innumerable volcanoes, that once flamed on the ſurface of our Earth, flame on it no longer: the ocean no longer boils with thoſe vitriolic effuſions, and other matters, that once covered the ſurface of our land. Millions of creatures have periſhed, that were fated to periſh: whatever could preſerve itſelf abides, and ſtill, after the lapſe of thouſands of years, remains in great harmonious order. Wild animals and tame, carnivorous and graminivorous inſects, birds, fiſhes, and man, are

adapted to each other; and among all theſe, male and female, birth and death, the term and ſtages of life, wants and enjoyments, neceſſities and gratifications. Not, however, at the will of a daily changing, inexplicable order; but according to evident laws of nature, inherent in the ſtructure of the creatures themſelves, that is, *in the relation of all the organic powers, which have animated and maintained themſelves on our planet.* As long as the natural law of this ſtructure and relation endures, it's conſequences will likewiſe endure; namely harmonious order between the animate and inanimate parts of our creation, which, as the interiour of our Earth evinces, was producible only by the deſtruction of millions.

What? and ſhall not this law, conformable to the internal powers of nature, educing order out of chaos, and converting into regularity the confuſion of human affairs, prevail in the life of man? Undoubtedly it does: we bear it's principle within us, and it muſt and will act ſuitably to it's nature. All the errours of man are miſts of truth: all the paſſions of his breaſt are wild impulſes of a power, which yet knows not itſelf, but, according to it's nature, acts only for the beſt. Even the tempeſts of the ocean, thoſe frequent engines of ravage and deſtruction, are the offspring of an harmonious order of things, to which they are not leſs ſubſervient than the gentle zephyr. It is hoped a few obſervations may be placed in ſuch a light, as to confirm this pleaſing truth.

1. As the ſtorms of the ſea occur leſs frequently

than moderate gales, ſo in the human ſpecies nature has benevolently ordered, *that fewer deſtroyers than preſervers ſhould be born.*

It is a divine law in the animal kingdom, that not ſo many lions and tigers are capable of exiſtence, and actually exiſt, as ſheep and doves: in hiſtory we find the ſame beneficent diſpoſition of things; ſo that we have a much ſmaller number of Nebuchadnezzars, Cambyſes, Alexanders, Sýllas, Attilas, and Genghis-khans, than of leſs ferocious generals, or quiet peaceful monarchs. To the production of the former either very inordinate paſſions, and faulty natural diſpoſitions, are requiſite, whence they appear to the Earth as fiery meteors inſtead of aſſociate planets; or ſingular circumſtances of education, rare occurrences of early habit, or the imperious demands of hoſtile, political neceſſity, ſtir up theſe ſcourges of divine wrath, as they are called, againſt mankind, and keep up their relentleſs ſwing. If it be true, therefore, that Nature deviates not from her courſe on our account, when, among the innumerable varieties of form and temperament ſhe produces, ſhe occaſionally exhibits to the World men of unruly paſſions, ſpirits of deſtruction, not of preſervation; ſtill it remains in men's own power, not to entruſt their flocks to theſe wolves and tigers, and even to tame them by the laws of humanity. The wild ox no longer appears in Europe, which formerly enjoyed it's foreſt domains in every part of it; and Rome at length found it difficult, to procure the number of african monſters, ſhe required for her amphitheatres. In proportion as lands are cultivated,

cultivated, deſerts are diminiſhed, and their wild inhabitants become more rare. In the human ſpecies the increaſing civilization of man has had a ſimilar effect; his diſpoſition to unruly paſſions giving way with his decreaſe of ſtrength, a more delicate creature was formed. With all this, irregularities are poſſible; and theſe frequently rage more perniciouſly, from being founded on infantile weakneſs, as the examples of many roman and eaſtern deſpots ſhow: however, as a ſpoiled child is always more eaſy to reſtrain than a bloodthirſty tiger, Nature, with her corrective regulations, has taught us the way to rule the lawleſs, and tame the inſatiable ſavage, by increaſing diligence. If there be no longer regions of dragons, to employ the arms of the giants of antiquity, we require no herculean deſtructive powers againſt men themſelves. Heroes of this ſtamp may purſue their bloody game on Caucaſus, or in Africa, and there ſeek new minotaurs to encounter: the ſociety in which they live poſſeſſes the undoubted right itſelf to deſtroy all the flame-breathing oxen of a Geryon. It ſuffers by it's own fault, if it tamely yield itſelf up to them as a prey; as it was the fault of the nations themſelves, that they did not unite againſt deſolating Rome with all the force of a common league, to maintain the freedom of the World.

2. *The progreſs of hiſtory ſhows, that, as true humanity has increaſed, the deſtructive demons of the human race have diminiſhed in number; and this from the inherent natural laws of a ſelf-enlightening reaſon and policy.*

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In proportion as reaſon increaſes among mankind, men muſt learn from their infancy to perceive, that there is a nobler greatneſs, than the inhuman greatneſs of tyrants; and that it is more laudable, as well as more difficult, to form, than to ravage a nation, to eſtabliſh cities, than to deſtroy them. The induſtrious egyptians, the ingenious greeks, the mercantile phenicians, not only make a more pleaſing figure in hiſtory, but enjoyed, during the period of their exiſtence, a more uſeful and agreeable life, than the deſtroying perſians, the conquering romans, the avaricious carthaginians. The remembrance of the former ſtill lives with fame, and their influence upon Earth will continue eternally with increaſing power; while the ravagers, with their demoniacal might, reaped no farther benefit, than that of becoming a wretched, luxurious people, amid the ruins of their plunder, and at laſt quaffing off the poiſoned draught of ſevere retaliation. Such was the fate of the aſſyrians, babylonians, perſians, romans: even the greeks received more injury from their internal diſſenſions, and from their luxury in many cities and provinces, than from the ſword of the enemy. Now as theſe are fundamental principles of a natural order, which not only ſhows itſelf in particular caſes of hiſtory, or in fortuitous inſtances; but is founded on it's own intrinſic properties, that is, on the nature of oppreſſion and an overſtretched power, or on the conſequences of victory, luxury and arrogance, as on the laws of a diſturbed equiponderance, and holds on coeternally with the courſe of things: why muſt we be compelled

pelled to doubt, that this law of Nature is not as generally acknowledged as any other, and does not operate, from the forcibleneſs with which it is perceived, with the infallible efficacy of a natural truth? What may be brought to mathematical certainty, and political demonſtration, muſt be acknowledged as truth, ſoon or late; for no one has yet queſtioned the accuracy of the multiplication table or the propoſitions of Euclid.

Even our brief hiſtory already demonſtrates beyond all doubt, that the increaſed diffuſion of true knowledge among people has happily diminiſhed their inhuman, mad deſtroyers. Since the downfal of Rome there has ariſen no other cultivated nation in Europe, which has founded the whole of it's conſtitution on war and conqueſt; for the military nations of the middle ages were rude and ſavage. In proportion as they advanced in civilization, and learned to have a regard for their property, the more amiable and peaceful ſpirit of induſtry, of agriculture, of trade, and of ſcience, forced itſelf upon them unnoticed, or indeed often againſt their wills. Men learned to uſe without deſtroying, as what was deſtroyed was no longer capable of being uſed; and thus in time, from the nature of the caſe itſelf, a peaceful balance between nations took place; for, after centuries of wild warring, all began to perceive, that the object of every one's wiſh was not to be attained, unleſs they contributed to promote it in common. Even that, which of all things appeared moſt to require excluſive poſſeſſion, commerce, could take no other way; as it is a law of nature,

nature, againſt which paſſions and prejudice are ultimately of no avail. Every commercial nation of Europe now laments, and will hereafter lament ſtill more, what envy or ſuperſtition once prompted it fooliſhly to deſtroy. As reaſon increaſes, the object of navigation will proportionably turn from conqueſt to trade; which is founded on reciprocal juſtice and courteſy, on a progreſſive emulation to excel in arts and induſtry, in ſhort, on humanity and it's eternal laws.

Our minds feel inward ſatisfaction, when they not only perceive the balm, which flows from the laws of human nature, but ſee it ſpread, and make it's way among mankind, even againſt their wills, from it's natural force. God himſelf could not diveſt man of the capability of errour; but he implanted this in the nature of human miſtakes, that ſoon or late they ſhould ſhow themſelves to be ſuch, and become evident to the calculating creature. No prudent ſovereign of Europe now governs his provinces, as did the kings of Perſia, or even the romans themſelves; if not from philanthropic motives, yet from a clearer inſight into the buſineſs, as with the courſe of time political calculation has become more certain, eaſy, and perſpicuous. A madman only would build egyptian pyramids in our days; and any one, that ſhould attempt ſuch uſeleſs enterprizes, would be deemed inſane by all the rational part of the World, if not from his want of love for the people, yet from conſiderations of economy. The bloody combats of gladiators, and barbarous fights with animals, are no longer ſuffered among

among us: the human ſpecies has run through theſe wild tricks of youth, and learned at length to ſee, that it's mad frolics coſt more than they are worth. In like manner, we no longer require the poor oppreſſed ſlaves of the romans, or helots of Sparta; becauſe in our conſtitutions we know how to obtain more eaſily from free beings, what they accompliſhed with more danger, and even expenſe, by means of human animals: nay the time muſt come, when we ſhall look back with as much compaſſion on our inhuman traffic in negroes, as on the ancient roman ſlaves, or ſpartan helots: if not from humanity, yet from calculation. In ſhort, we have to thank God, for having given us, with our weak fallible nature, reaſon, that immortal beam from his ſun, the eſſence of which it is to diſpel night, and ſhow things in their real forms.

3. *The progreſs of arts and inventions puts into the hands of man increaſing means of reſtraining or rendering innocuous, what Nature herſelf cannot eradicate.*

The ſurface of the ſea muſt be ruffled by ſtorms, and the mother of all things could not diſpenſe with them for man's advantage. But what did ſhe beſtow on him, to compenſate theſe? The art of navigation. Theſe very ſtorms excited man, to invent the elaborate ſtructure of his complicated ſhip, which enables him not merely to eſcape the ſtorm, but to profit by it's rage, and ſail on it's wings.

The wandering mariner, toſſed on the ocean, could not call the ſons of Tyndarus to appear and direct him on his courſe; accordingly he himſelf invented

invented his guide the compaſs, and ſought in the ſkies his Dioſcuri, the Sun, the Moon, and the ſtars. Thus equipped with art he launched out on the boundleſs ocean, and braved it from the equator to the arctic circle.

Nature could not take from man the deſtructive element of fire, without depriving him of manhood itſelf: but then, what did ſhe beſtow on him by means of fire? Multifarious art: art not only to ſet bounds to the devouring poiſon, and render it innocent, but even to employ it for a thouſand beneficial purpoſes.

It is the ſame with the raging paſſions of man, as with theſe ſtorms on the ocean, with this raging element of fire. By and in theſe the human ſpecies has ſharpened it's reaſon, and invented a thouſand means, regulations, and arts, not only to reſtrain them, but even to turn them to advantage, as all hiſtory ſhows. A race of men without paſſions would never have cultivated their underſtanding; they would have ſtill lain as troglodytes in ſome cave.

Man-devouring war, for example, was during ages the trade of robbery rudely exerciſed. It was long the practice of men ſwayed by turbulent paſſions; for while perſonal ſtrength, cunning, and addreſs, were it's requiſites, it could cheriſh only the dangerous virtues of robbers and murderers, even in thoſe who poſſeſſed the moſt laudable qualities; as the wars of ancient times, of the middle ages, and even ſome of modern date, abundantly teſtify. But in the midſt of this depraving trade the art of war was invented, perhaps involuntarily; for the inventors

ventors of this art perceived not, that it would ſap the foundations of war itſelf. In proportion as the art of fighting became a profound ſtudy, and various mechanical inventions were introduced into it, the paſſions and brute ſtrength of individuals became uſeleſs. Soldiers were converted into mere machines, moved by the mind of a ſingle general, and at the order of a few commanders; till at length ſovereigns alone were permitted to play this dangerous and coſtly game, while in ancient times almoſt all warlike nations were continually in arms. We have ſeen proofs of this in ſeveral aſiatic nations, and not leſs in the greeks and romans. The latter were for centuries almoſt conſtantly in the field: the volſcian war continued 106 years; the ſamnite, 71: the city of Veii was beſieged ten years, like a ſecond Troy: and the deſtructive peloponneſian war of 28 years among the greeks is ſufficiently known. But as in all wars, to fall in battle is the leaſt of evils, while the diſeaſes and devaſtation, that attend the motions of an army, or the ſiege of a town, with the lawleſs ſpirit of plunder, that then pervades all ranks and conditions, are much greater evils, which paſſion-ſtirring war calls forth in a thouſand frightful forms; we may thank the greeks and romans, and ſtill more the inventors of gunpowder and firearms, for having reduced the moſt ſavage trade to an art, and latterly indeed the moſt honourable art of crowned heads. Since kings have perſonally engaged in this game of honour, with armies as devoid of paſſion as numerous, we are ſecured from ſieges of ten years duration, or wars

of

of ſeventy, carried on merely for the honour of the commander; for the very magnitude of an army is ſufficient to prevent the continuance of war. Thus, conformably to an unalterable law of nature, the evil itſelf has produced ſome good; the art of war having ſuppreſſed in a certain degree the practice of warfare. This art has likewiſe diminiſhed plunder and devaſtation, if not from philanthropy, yet for the honour of the general. The laws of war, and the treatment of priſoners, are become incomparably milder, than they were even among the greeks; not to mention the public ſecurity, which firſt exiſted merely in warlike ſtates. The whole roman empire, for inſtance, enjoyed ſecurity in it's highways, as they were covered by the wings of it's eagles; while travelling was dangerous to a foreigner in Aſia and Africa, and even in Greece, becauſe in theſe countries a general ſpirit of ſecurity was wanting. Thus the poiſon was converted into a medicine, as ſoon as it came into the hands of Art: generations indeed were ſwept away, but the immortal whole outlived the ſufferings of the parts that diſappeared, and learned good even from evil.

If this be true of the art of war, it muſt ſtill more of the ſcience of politics; the ſtudy of which, however, is more intricate, as in it centres the welfare of a whole nation. Even the ſavages of America have their politics; yet in how confined a ſtate! being of advantage indeed to a few particular families, but by no means ſecuring the whole people from ruin. Several little nations have exterminated

nated one another; others are ſo thinned, that a ſimilar fate probably awaits many of them, from their unequal conteſt with the ſmall-pox, ſpirituous liquors, and the avarice of europeans. The more the political ſyſtem of a ſtate became an art, both in Aſia and Europe, the more ſtable it was in itſelf, and the more cloſely it was connected with others, ſo that one could not fall without the reſt. Thus ſtands China, thus Japan; ancient edifices, the foundations of which lie deep beneath their walls. The conſtitution of Greece, the principal republics of which contended centuries for the balance of power, was ſtill more elaborate. Common dangers united them: and had the union been perfect, theſe active people would have withſtood Philip and the romans with no leſs glory, than they once gained againſt Xerxes and Darius. The defective politics of the neighbouring nations alone gave Rome her advantage: ſeparately they were attacked; ſeparately they were conquered. Rome experienced a ſimilar fate, when ſhe declined in the arts of war and politics: ſo did Judea; and ſo did Egypt. No people, whoſe ſtate is well regulated, can periſh, even ſuppoſing them to be conquered, as China ſhows even with all it's faults.

The utility of an art profoundly underſtood is more evident, when we ſpeak of the internal economy of a country, it's trade, it's adminiſtration of juſtice, it's ſciences, and it's manufactures. In all theſe it is obvious, the greater the art, the more the advantage. A true merchant employs no deception, becauſe deceit never leads to wealth: as the man

of real learning never makes a parade of falſe ſcience; as the judge, who deſerves the name, is never knowingly unjuſt; for this would be to confeſs themſelves tyroes, not maſters of their arts. As certainly muſt the time come, when the irrational politician will be aſhamed of his ignorance; and when it will be as abſurd and ridiculous, to be a tyrannical deſpot, as it has ever been deteſtable. It will then be clear as day, that every irrational politician reckons with an erroneous multiplication table, and that, however great the ſums he calculates, no real advantage is obtained from them. For this hiſtory is written; and in the courſe of it the proofs of this propoſition will become evident. All the faults of government muſt precede, and exhauſt themſelves as it were; that, after all their diſorders, man may at length perceive the happineſs of his ſpecies to depend not on any thing arbitrary, but on an eſſential law of nature, on reaſon and equity. To the developement of this law we now proceed; and may the internal force of truth ſtamp light and conviction on the propoſition.

CHAPTER III.

The human Race is deſtined to proceed through various Degrees of Civilization, in various Mutations; but the Permanency of it's Welfare is founded ſolely and eſſentially on Reaſon and Juſtice.

First natural law. It is demonſtrated in phyſical mathematics, that *to the permanent condition of a thing a ſort of perfection is requiſite, a maximum or minimum, ariſing out of the mode of action of the powers of that thing.* Thus, for example, our Earth could not poſſeſs durability, if it's centre of gravity did not lie deep within it, and all it's powers act to and from this, in equiponderating harmony. Every ſtable being, therefore, bears in itſelf, according to this beautiful law of nature, it's phyſical truth, goodneſs, and neceſſity, as the grounds of it's ſtability.

Second natural law. It is in like manner demonſtrated, *that all perfection and beauty of compound, limited things, or ſyſtems of them, reſt on ſuch a maximum.* Thus ſimilitude and difference, ſimplicity in means and diverſity in effects, the ſlighteſt application of power to attain the moſt certain or profitable end, form a kind of ſymmetry and harmonious proportion, univerſally obſerved by Nature, in her laws of motion, in the form of her creatures, in the greateſt things and in the leaſt; and imitated by the art of man, as far as his powers extend. In this, many rules limit each other, ſo that what would be

greater according to one is diminiſhed by another, till the compound whole attains the moſt beautiful form, with the greateſt economy, and at the ſame time internal conſiſtency, goodneſs, and truth. An excellent law, which baniſhes from Nature every thing arbitrary, and all diſorder; and diſplays to us, even in every variable and limited part of the creation, a rule of the higheſt beauty.

Third natural law. It is equally proved, that, *if a being, or ſyſtem of beings, be forced out of this permanent condition of it's truth, goodneſs, and beauty, it will again approach it by it's internal powers, either in vibrations, or in an aſymptote; as out of this ſtate it finds no ſtability.* The more active and multifarious the powers, the leſs is the imperceptible ſtraight courſe of the aſymptote poſſible, and the more violent the vibrations and oſcillations, till the diſturbed ſubject attain an equilibrium of it's powers, or harmony in their movements, and therewith the permanent condition eſſential to it.

Now as mankind, both taken as a whole, and in it's particular individuals, ſocieties, and nations, is a permanent natural ſyſtem of the moſt multifarious living powers; let us examine, wherein it's ſtability conſiſts; in what point it's higheſt beauty, truth, and goodneſs, unite; and what courſe it takes, in order to reapproach it's permanent condition, on every aberration from it, of which many are exhibited to us by hiſtory and experience.

1. The human ſpecies is ſuch a copious ſcheme of energies and capacities, that, as every thing in nature reſts on the moſt determinate individuality, it's great and

and numerous capacities could not appear on our planet otherwiſe than *divided among millions*. Every thing has been born, that could be born upon it; and every thing has maintained itſelf, that could acquire a ſtate of permanence according to the laws of Nature. Thus every individual bears within himſelf that ſymmetry, for which he is made, and to which he muſt mould himſelf, both in his bodily figure, and mental capacities. Human exiſtence appears in every ſhape and kind, from the moſt ſickly deformity, that can ſcarcely ſupport life, to the ſuperhuman form of a grecian demigod; from the paſſionate ardour of the negro brain, to the capacity for conſummate wiſdom. Through faults and errours, through education, neceſſity, and exerciſe, every mortal ſeeks the ſymmetry of his powers; as in this alone the moſt complete enjoyment of his exiſtence lies: yet few are ſufficiently fortunate, to attain it in the pureſt, happieſt manner.

2. As an individual man can ſubſiſt of himſelf but very imperfectly, *a ſuperiour maximum of cooperating powers* is formed with every ſociety. Theſe powers contend together in wild confuſion, till, agreeably to the unfailing laws of nature, oppoſing regulations limit each other, and a kind of equilibrium and harmony of movement takes place. Thus nations modify themſelves, according to time, place, and their internal character: each bears in itſelf the ſtandard of it's perfection, totally independant of all compariſon with that of others. Now the more pure and fine the maximum on which a people hit, the more uſeful the objects to which it

applied the exertions of it's nobler powers, and, laſtly, the more firm and exact the bond of union, which moſt intimately connected all the members of the ſtate, and guided them to this good end; the more ſtable was the nation itſelf, and the more brilliant the figure it made in hiſtory. The courſe that we have hitherto taken through certain nations ſhows how different, according to place, time, and circumſtances, was the object for which they ſtrove. With the chineſe it was refined political morality; with the hindoos, a kind of retired purity, quiet aſſiduity in labour, and endurance; with the phenicians, the ſpirit of navigation, and commercial induſtry. The culture of the greeks, particularly at Athens, proceeded on the maximum of ſenſible beauty, both in arts and manners, in ſcience and in political inſtitutions. In Sparta, and in Rome, men emulated the virtues of the patriot and hero; in each, however, in a very different mode. Now as in all theſe moſt depended on time and place, the ancients will ſcarcely admit of being compared with each other in the moſt diſtinguiſhed features of national fame.

3. In all, however, we ſee the operation of *one principle*, namely *human reaſon*, which endeavours to produce unity out of multiplicity, order out of diſorder, and out of variety of powers and deſigns one ſymmetrical and durably beautiful whole. From the ſhapeleſs artificial rocks, with which the chineſe ornaments his garden, to the egyptian pyramid, or the ideal beauty of Greece, the plan and deſign of a reflecting underſtanding is every where obſervable, though

though in very different degrees. The more refined the reflections of this underſtanding were, and the nearer it came to the point, which is the higheſt in it's kind, and admits no deviation to the right or to the left; the more were it's performances to be conſidered as models, for they contain eternal rules for the human underſtanding in all ages. Thus nothing of the kind can be conceived ſuperiour to an egyptian pyramid, or to ſeveral greek and roman works of art. They are ſimple ſolutions of certain problems of the underſtanding, which admit no arbitrary ſuppoſition, that the problems are perhaps not yet ſolved, or might be ſolved in a better way; for in them the ſimple idea of what they ought to be is diſplayed in the eaſieſt, fulleſt, and moſt beautiful manner. Every deviation from them would be a fault; and were they to be repeated and diverſified in a thouſand modes, we muſt ſtill return to that ſingle point, which is the higheſt of it's kind.

4. Thus through all the poliſhed nations, that we have hitherto conſidered, or ſhall hereafter conſider, *a chain of cultivation* may be drawn, flying off in extremely divergent curves. In each it deſignates increaſing and decreaſing greatneſs, and has maximums of every kind. Many of theſe exclude or limit one another, till at length a certain ſymmetry takes place in the whole; ſo that were we to reaſon from one perfection of any nation concerning another, we ſhould form very treacherous concluſions. Thus, becauſe Athens had exquiſite orators, it does not follow, that it's form of government muſt likewiſe have been the beſt poſſible; or that, becauſe the chineſe

moralize ſo excellently, their ſtate muſt be a pattern for all others. Forms of government refer to a very different maximum, from that of beautiful morals, or a pathetic oration; notwithſtanding, at bottom, all things in any nation have a certain connexion, if it be only that of excluſion and limitation. No other maximum, but that of the moſt perfect bond of union, produces the moſt happy ſtates; even ſuppoſing the people are in conſequence obliged, to diſpenſe with many ſhining qualities.

5. But in one and the ſame nation every maximum of it's commendable endeavours ought not and cannot endure for ever; ſince it is but one point in the progreſs of time. This inceſſantly moves on; and the more numerous the circumſtances, on which the beautiful effect depends, the ſooner is it liable to paſs away. Happy if it's maſter pieces remain as rules for future ages; ſince thoſe that immediately ſucceed approach them too near, and will probably obliterate by attempting to excel them. Even the moſt active people frequently ſink moſt ſpeedily from the boiling to the freezing point.

The hiſtory of particular ſciences and nations has to calculate theſe maxima, and I wiſh we had ſuch a hiſtory only of the moſt celebrated nations during the periods beſt known. At preſent we ſpeak only of human hiſtory in general, and of it's ſtate of permanence in every form and climate. This is nothing elſe than *humanity*, that is, *reaſon and equity in all conditions, and in all occupations of men.* And this indeed it is, not through the will of a ſovereign, or the perſuaſive power of tradition, but through natural laws,

laws, on which the eſſence of man repoſes. Even his moſt corrupt inſtitutions cry aloud: 'had not a glimmering of equity and reaſon been retained in us, we ſhould long have ceaſed to be, nay we never ſhould have exiſted.' As the whole tiſſue of human hiſtory proceeds from this point, to it we muſt carefully bend our view.

Firſt. What is it we eſteem, and after which we inquire, in all human works? Reaſon, plan, and purpoſe. If theſe be wanting, nothing human is accompliſhed, a blind power is diſplayed. Wherever our underſtanding roams throughout the wide field of hiſtory, it ſeeks only itſelf, it finds only itſelf. The nearer it approaches pure truth, and the good of mankind, in all it's undertakings; the more durable, uſeful, and beautiful are it's works, and the more their rules meet the hearts and minds of all people, in all ages. Socrates and Confucius, Plato, Cicero, and Zoroaſter, agree unanimouſly in what conſtitutes clear underſtanding, and juſt morals: in ſpite of their various differences, they have all laboured to one point, on which our whole ſpecies reſts. As the wanderer enjoys no greater delight, than when he every where diſcovers, even unexpectedly, the traces of a thinking, feeling mind, like his own; ſo are we delighted when in the hiſtory of our ſpecies the echo of all ages and nations reverberates nothing from the nobleſt minds, but truth and benevolence towards man. As my reaſon ſeeks the connexion of things, and my heart rejoices when it perceives it; ſo has every honeſt man ſought it: though, probably, from the point of view which his ſituation

ſituation afforded, he ſaw it differently, and differently deſcribed it. Where he erred, he erred both for himſelf and me, as he warned me againſt ſimilar errours. Where he guides me truly, inſtructs, ſolaces, animates me, he is my brother; a ſharer in the ſame ſoul of the World, the one human reaſon, the one human truth.

Secondly. As there is not a more pleaſing ſight in all hiſtory, than that of a man of goodneſs and underſtanding, who, in ſpite of all the changes of fortune, remains the ſame in every period of his life, and in every thing he does; ſo our pity is excited in a thouſand ways, when we perceive even in great and good men errours of the underſtanding, which, according to the laws of nature, cannot fail to bring upon them neceſſary pains. We too frequently meet with theſe fallen angels in hiſtory, and have to lament the weakneſs of the moulds, that human reaſon employs for her inſtruments. How little can a mortal bear, without bending underneath the load! how little that is extraordinary can come in his way, without turning him from it! A ſlight honour, a glimpſe of good fortune, or an unexpected occurrence in life, is a ſufficient ignis fatuus, to miſlead one into quagmires, or over precipices: another is ignorant of his own powers, attempts what is above his ſtrength, and faints under the enterprize. We are ſeized with ſentiments of compaſſion, when we perceive ſuch, unfortunately fortunate, on the point of deviating from the path of reaſon, juſtice, and happineſs, which they feel the want of ſtrength any longer to purſue. Behind them ſtands the graſp-

ing fury, and impels them againſt their will to overſtep the line of moderation: they are now in her hand, and probably will ſuffer during the remainder of their lives the conſequences of a ſlight folly, and dereliction of reaſon. Or if Fortune have raiſed them too high, and they feel themſelves on her higheſt pinnacle, what preſents itſelf to their foreboding minds, but the inconſtancy of this fickle goddeſs, and misfortune burſting from the very ſeeds of their ſucceſs? In vain, compaſſionate Cæſar, didſt thou turn aſide thy face, when the head of thy defeated enemy Pompey was brought to thee, and build a temple to Nemeſis. Already thou hadſt paſſed the confines of Fortune, as well as the banks of the Rubicon; the goddeſs was now behind thee, and thy bloody corſe was doomed, to fall at the feet of the ſtatue of that very Pompey. The conſtitutions of countries experience a ſimilar fate, as they depend on the reaſon or folly of a few, who are their rulers, or by whom their rulers are ſwayed. The moſt beautiful inſtitutions, which promiſed mankind the moſt profitable fruits for ages, have often been torn to pieces by the folly of an individual, who has felled the tree, inſtead of lopping a few of it's branches. Succeſs is moſt difficult to be born by whole realms, as well as by individuals; whether they be governed by monarchs and deſpots, or by ſenates and the people. The people and the deſpot are the leaſt capable of perceiving the warning nod of the goddeſs of fate: dazzled by the ſplendour of vainglory, or made giddy by the ſound of a name, they ruſh beyond the bounds of prudence and humanity,

manity, and perceive the conſequences of their folly too late. This was the fate of Rome, of Athens, and of many nations; as well as of Alexander, and moſt of the conquerors, that have diſturbed the peace of the World: for Injuſtice is the ruin of every country, as Folly of every human undertaking. Theſe are the furies of Fate: Misfortune is no more than their younger ſiſter, the third member of the fearful confederacy.

Great father of mankind, what an eaſy yet difficult leſſon haſt thou given thy family upon Earth for the whole of their taſk! They have nothing to learn, but reaſon and juſtice alone: if they practiſe theſe, light gradually enters their minds, goodneſs their hearts, perfection their ſtates, happineſs their lives. Endowed with theſe gifts, and making proper application of them, the negro may form his ſociety as well as the greek, the troglodyte as well as the chineſe. Experience will lead each farther; and Reaſon, united with Equity, will give conſiſtence, beauty, and ſymmetry, to his undertakings. But if he deſert theſe, the eſſential guides of his life, what can give ſtability to his good-fortune, and ſave him from the furies of Inhumanity?

Thirdly. It follows likewiſe, that, whenever the equilibrium of reaſon and humanity is diſturbed among men, a return to it ſeldom occurs, except by violent oſcillations from one extreme to the other. One paſſion kicks up the ſcale of reaſon, another drives it down, and thus hiſtory goes on for years and ages, before the period of tranquillity returns. Thus Alexander deſtroyed the equilibrium of an extenſive

extenſive region of the World; and it was long after his death before the ſtorm ſubſided. Thus Rome diſturbed the peace of the Globe for more than a thouſand years; and half a World of ſavage nations was requiſite for the ſlow reſtoration of it's quiet. The peaceable progreſs of an aſymptote could by no means be expected, in theſe convulſions of countries and nations. The channel of cultivation on our Earth, with it's abrupt corners, it's ſaliant and reentering angles, ſcarcely ever exhibits a gentle ſtream, but rather the ruſhing of a torrent from the mountains. Such are the effects of human paſſions. It is evident, too, that the general compoſition of our ſpecies is calculated and eſtabliſhed on ſuch alternating vibrations. As our walk is a continual falling to the right and to the left, and yet we advance at every ſtep; ſo is the progreſs of cultivation in races of men, and in whole nations. Individually we often try both extremes, before we hit the point of reſt, as the pendulum oſcillates from ſide to ſide. Generations are renewed in continual change; and in ſpite of all the direct precepts of tradition, the ſon advances in his own way. Ariſtotle was aſſiduous to diſtinguiſh himſelf from Plato, Epicurus from Zeno, till more tranquil poſterity could at laſt impartially profit by both extremes. Thus, as in the machine of our body, the work of time proceeds to the good of the human race by neceſſary oppoſition, and acquires from it permanent health. But through whatever turnings and angles the ſtream of human reaſon may wind and break, it aroſe from the eternal fountain of truth, and

and by virtue of it's nature can never be loſt in it's courſe. Whoever draws from it, draws life and duration.

For the reſt both reaſon and juſtice hinge *on one and the ſame law of nature*, from which the ſtability of our being likewiſe flows. Reaſon weighs and compares the relations of things, that ſhe may diſpoſe them in durable ſymmetry. Juſtice is nothing elſe than a moral ſymmetry of reaſon, the formula of the equilibrium of contending powers, on the harmony of which the whole creation repoſes. Thus one and the ſame law reaches from the Sun, and from all the ſuns in the univerſe, to the moſt inſignificant human action: one law upholds all beings, and their ſyſtems; *the relation of their powers to periodical reſt and order.*

CHAPTER IV.

From the Laws of their internal Nature, Reaſon and Juſtice muſt gain more Footing among Men in the Courſe of Time, and promote a more durable Humanity.

ALL the doubts and complaints of men, reſpecting the uncertainty and little obſervable progreſs of good in hiſtory, ariſe from this, that the melancholy wanderer ſees too little on his way. If he extended his view, and impartially compared with each other the times, that we moſt accurately know from hiſtory; farther, if he dived into the nature of man, and weighed what truth and reaſon are; he would doubt

doubt as little of their progreſs, as of the moſt indiſputable phyſical truth. For thouſands of years our ſun and all the fixed ſtars were ſuppoſed to be immovable: a fortunate teleſcope now permits us no longer to doubt of their movement. So in ſome future age, a more accurate compariſon of the periods exhibited in the hiſtory of our ſpecies will not merely give us a ſuperficial view of this exhilarating truth, but, in ſpite of all apparent diſorder, will enable us to calculate the laws, according to which this progreſs is effected by the power of human nature. Standing on the verge of ancient hiſtory, as on a central point, I ſhall do no more than curſorily note a few general principles, which will ſerve as leading ſtars, to guide us on our future way.

Firſt. *Times connect themſelves together, in virtue of their nature; and with them the child of Time, the race of mankind, with all it's operations and productions.*

No ſophiſtical argument can lead us to deny, that our Earth has grown older in the courſe of ſome thouſands of years; and that this wanderer round the Sun is greatly altered ſince it's origin. In it's bowels we perceive how it once was conſtituted; and we need but look around us, to ſee it's preſent conſtitution. The ocean foams no longer; it has ſubſided peaceably into it's bed: the wandering ſtreams have found their ſhores; and plants and animals have run through a progreſſive ſeries of years in their different races. As not a ſunbeam has been loſt upon our Earth ſince it's creation; ſo no

no falling leaf, no wafted ſeed, no carcaſe of a decaying animal, and ſtill leſs an action of any living being, has been without effect. Vegetation, for example, has increaſed, and extended itſelf as far as it could: every living race has ſpread within the limits nature aſſigned it, through the means of others: and even the ſenſeleſs devaſtations of man, as well as his induſtry, have been active implements in the hand of Time. Freſh harveſts have waved over the ruins of the cities he has deſtroyed: the elements have ſtrewed the duſt of oblivion upon them; and ſoon new generations have ariſen, who have erected new buildings upon the old, and even with their ancient remains. Omnipotence itſelf cannot ordain, that effects ſhall not be effects: it cannot reſtore the Earth to what it was thouſands of years ago, ſo that theſe thouſands of years, with all their conſequences, ſhall not have been.

Already therefore a certain progreſs of the human ſpecies is inſeparable from the progreſs of Time, as far as man is included in the family of Time and Earth. Were the progenitor of mankind now to appear, and view his deſcendants, how would he be aſtoniſhed! His body was formed for a youthful Earth; his frame, his ideas, and his way of life, muſt have been adapted to that conſtitution of the elements, which then prevailed; and conſiderable alteration in this muſt have taken place, in the courſe of ſix thouſand years or upwards. In many parts America is no longer what it was when diſcovered: two thouſand years hence, it's ancient hiſtory will have the air of romance. Thus we read

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the hiſtory of the ſiege of Troy, and ſeek in vain the ſpot where it ſtood; in vain the grave of Achilles, or the godlike hero himſelf. Were a collection of all the accounts, that have been given of the ſize and figure of the ancients, of the kind and quantity of their food, of their daily occupations and amuſements, and of their notions of love and marriage, the virtues and the paſſions, the purpoſe of life and a future exiſtence, made with diſcriminating accuracy, and with regard to time and place, it would be of no ſmall advantage toward a hiſtory of man. Even in this ſhort period, an advancement of the ſpecies would be ſufficiently conſpicuous, to evince both the conſiſtency of ever youthful Nature, and the progreſſive changes of our old mother Earth. Earth nurſes not man alone: ſhe preſſes all her children to one boſom, embraces all in the ſame maternal arms: and, when one changes, all muſt undergo change.

It is undeniable, too, that this progreſs of time has influenced the mode of thinking of the human ſpecies. Bid a man now invent, now ſing an Iliad; bid him write like Æſchylus, like Sophocles, like Plato: it is impoſſible. The childiſh ſimplicity, the unprejudiced mode of ſeeing things, in ſhort the youthful period of the greeks, is gone by. It is the ſame with the hebrews, and the romans; while on the other hand we are acquainted with a number of things, of which both the romans and the hebrews were ignorant. One day teaches another, one century inſtructs another century: tradition is enriched: the muſe of Time, Hiſtory, herſelf ſings with

a hundred voices, ſpeaks with a hundred tongues. Be there as much filth, as much confuſion, as there will, in the vaſt ſnowball rolled up by Time; yet this very confuſion is the offspring of ages, which could have ariſen only from the unwearied rolling on of one and the ſame thing. Thus every return to the ancient times, even the celebrated year of Plato, is a fiction, is, from the ideas of the World and of Time, an impoſſibility. We float onward: but the ſtream, that has once flowed, returns no more to it's ſource.

Secondly. *The habitations of mankind render the progreſs of the human ſpecies ſtill more evident.*

Where are the times when people dwelled as troglodytes, diſperſed about in caves, behind their walls, and every ſtranger was an enemy? Merely from the courſe of time no cave, no wall, afforded ſecurity: men muſt learn to know one another; for collectively they are but one family, on one planet of no great extent. It is a melancholy reflection, that every where they firſt learned to know one another as enemies, and beheld each other with aſtoniſhment as ſo many wolves: but ſuch was the order of nature. The weak feared the ſtrong; the deceived, the deceiver; he who had been expelled, him who could again expel him; the unexperienced child, every ſtranger. This infantile fear, however, and all it's abuſes, could not alter the courſe of nature: the bond of union between nations was knit, though, from the rude ſtate of man, in a rough manner. Growing reaſon may burſt the knots, but cannot untwiſt the band, and ſtill leſs

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undo the diſcoveries, that have once been made. What are the geologies of Moſes and Orpheus, Homer and Herodotus, Strabo and Pliny, compared with ours? What was the commerce of the phenicians, greeks, and romans, to the trade of Europe? Thus, with what has hitherto been effected, the clew to the labyrinth of what is to be done is given us. Man, while he continues man, will not ceaſe from wandering over his planet, till it is completely known to him: from this neither ſtorms nor ſhipwreck, nor thoſe vaſt mountains of ice, nor all the perils of either pole, will deter him; no more than they have deterred him from the firſt moſt difficult attempts, even when navigation was very defective. The incentive to all theſe enterprizes lies in his own breaſt, lies in man's nature. Curioſity, and the inſatiable deſire of wealth, fame, diſcovery, and increaſe of ſtrength, and even new wants and diſcontents, inſeparable from the preſent courſe of things, will impel him; and they by whom dangers have been ſurmounted in former times, his celebrated and ſucceſsful predeceſſors, will animate him. Thus the will of providence will be promoted both by good and bad incentives, till man knows and acts upon the whole of his ſpecies. To him the Earth is given; and he will not deſiſt, till it is wholly his own, at leaſt as far as regards knowledge and uſe. Are we not already aſhamed, that one hemiſphere of our planet remained for ſo long a time as unknown to us, as if it had been the other ſide of the Moon?

Thirdly. *In conſequence of the internal nature of the*

human mind, it's activity has hitherto been employed ſolely on means of grounding more deeply the humanity and cultivation of our ſpecies, and extending them farther.

How vaſt the progreſs from the firſt raft that floated on the water to an european ſhip! Neither the inventor of the former, nor the many inventors of the various arts and ſciences that contribute to navigation, ever formed the leaſt conception of what would ariſe from the combination of their diſcoveries: each obeyed his particular impulſe of want or curioſity: but it is inherent in the nature of the human intellect, and of the general connexion of all things, that no attempt, no diſcovery, can be made in vain. Thoſe iſlanders, who had never ſeen an european veſſel, beheld the monſter with aſtoniſhment, as ſome prodigy of another World; and were ſtill more aſtoniſhed when they found, that men like themſelves could guide it at pleaſure over the trackleſs ocean. Could their aſtoniſhment have been converted into rational reflection on every great purpoſe, and every little mean, of this floating world of art, how much higher would their admiration of the human mind have ariſen! Whither do not the hands of europeans at preſent reach, by means of this ſingle implement? Whither may they not reach hereafter?

Beſide this art, others innumerable have been invented within the ſpace of a few years by mankind, that extend their ſway over air and water, over Earth and Heaven. And when we reflect, that but few nations were engaged in this conteſt of mental

tal activity, while the greater part of the reſt ſlumbered in the lap of ancient cuſtom; when we reflect, that almoſt all our inventions were made at very early periods, and ſcarcely any trace, ſcarcely any ruin of an ancient ſtructure, or an ancient inſtitution, exiſts, that is not connected with our early hiſtory; what a proſpect does this hiſtorically demonſtrated activity of the human mind give us for the infinity of future ages! In the few centuries during which Greece flouriſhed, in the few centuries of modern improvement, how much has been conceived, invented, done, reduced to order, and preſerved for future ages, in Europe, the leaſt quarter of the Globe, and almoſt in it's ſmalleſt parts! How prolific the ſeeds, that art and ſcience have copiouſly ſhed, while one nouriſhes, one animates and excites the other! As when a ſtring is touched, not only every thing that has muſic reſounds to it, but all it's harmonious tones reecho the ſound, till it becomes imperceptible; ſo the human mind has invented and created, when an harmonious point of it's interiour has been hit. When a new concord was ſtruck, in a creation where every thing is connected, innumerable new concatenations followed of courſe.

But, it may be aſked, how have all theſe arts and inventions been applied? Have practical reaſon and juſtice, and conſequently the true improvement and happineſs of the human ſpecies, been promoted by them? In reply I refer to what has recently been urged reſpecting the progreſs of diſorder throughout the whole creation: that, according to

an intrinſic law of nature, nothing can attain durability, which is the eſſential aim of all things, without order. A keen knife in the hand of a child may wound it: yet the art that invented and ſharpened the knife is one of the moſt indiſpenſable of arts. All that uſe ſuch a knife are not children; and even the child will be taught by pain, to uſe it better. Artificial power in the hand of a deſpot, foreign luxury in a nation without controlling laws, are ſuch pernicious implements: but the very miſchief they do will render men wiſer; and, ſoon or late, the art, that created luxury as well as deſpotiſm, will firſt confine both within due bounds, and then convert them into real benefits. The heavy ploughſhare wears itſelf out by long uſe: the ſlight teeth of new watchwork gain merely by their revolution the more ſuitable and artful form of the epicycloid. Thus in human powers abuſes carried to exceſs wear themſelves down to good practices: extreme oſcillations from ſide to ſide neceſſarily ſettle in the deſirable mean of laſting fitneſs in a regular movement. Whatever is to take place among mankind will be effected by men: we ſuffer under our faults, till we learn of ourſelves the better uſe of our faculties, without the aſſiſtance of miracles from Heaven.

We have not the leaſt reaſon, therefore, to doubt, that every good employment of the human underſtanding neceſſarily muſt and will, at ſome time or other, promote humanity. Since agriculture has prevailed, men and acorns have ceaſed to be food. Man found, that he could live better, more decently, and more humanely, on the pleaſing gifts of

Ceres, than on the fleſh of his fellows, or the fruits of the oak; and was compelled ſo to live by the laws of men wiſer than himſelf. After men had learned to build houſes and towns, they ceaſed to dwell in caves: under the laws of a commonweal, the poor ſtranger was no longer liable to death. Thus trade brought nations together: and the more it's advantages were generally underſtood; the leſs murders, oppreſſions, and deceptions, which are always ſigns of ignorance in commerce, would neceſſarily be practiſed. Every addition to the uſeful arts ſecures men's property, diminiſhes their labour, extends their ſphere of activity, and neceſſarily lays therewith the foundations of farther cultivation and humanity. What labour was ſaved, for example, by the ſingle invention of printing! What an extenſive circulation of men's ideas, arts, and ſciences, did it promote? Were an european Kang-Ti now to attempt, to eradicate the literature of this quarter of the Globe, he would find it impoſſible. Had the phenicians and carthaginians, the greeks and romans, poſſeſſed this art; the deſtruction of their literature would not have been ſo eaſy to their ſpoilers, if it could by any means have been accompliſhed. Let ſavage nations burſt in upon Europe, they could not withſtand our tactics; and no Attila will again extend his march from the ſhores of the Black ſea and the Caſpian to the plains of Catalonia. Let monks, ſybarites, fanatics, and tyrants, ariſe, as they will; it is no longer in their power, to bring back the night of the middle ages. Now as no greater benefit can be conceived to ariſe from any art, divine

or human, than not merely to beſtow on us light and order, but from it's very nature to extend and ſecure them; let us thank the Creator, that he conferred *underſtanding* on mankind, and made *art* eſſential to it. In them we poſſeſs the ſecret and the means of ſecuring order in the World.

Neither need we any way repine, that many excellently conceived theories, morals not excepted, have remained ſo long without being carried into practice among mankind. The child learns much, which the man alone can apply; but he has not therefore learned in vain. The youth heedleſsly forgets, what at ſome future period he muſt take pains to recollect, or learn a ſecond time. So no truth that is treaſured up, nay no truth that is diſcovered, among a race continually renovating, is wholly in vain: future circumſtances will render neceſſary what is now deſpiſed; and in the infinity of things every caſe muſt occur, that can in any way exerciſe the human ſpecies. As in the creation we firſt conceive the *power*, that formed Chaos, and then diſpoſing *wiſdom*, and harmonious *goodneſs*; ſo the natural order of mankind firſt developes rude powers: diſorder itſelf muſt guide them into the path of underſtanding; and the farther the underſtanding purſues it's work, the more it perceives, that goodneſs alone can beſtow on it durability, perfection, and beauty.

CHAPTER V.

A wiſe Goodneſs diſpoſes the Fate of Mankind; therefore there is no nobler Merit, no purer and more durable Happineſs, than to cooperate in it's Deſigns.

THE ſenſual contemplator of hiſtory, who in it has loſt ſight of God, and begun to doubt of Providence, has fallen into this misfortune, from having taken too ſuperficial a view of his ſubject, or from having had no juſt conception of Providence. If he have conſidered Providence as an apparition, that was to meet him at every turn, and continually interrupt the courſe of human actions, to accompliſh this or that particular object of his will and fancy; I confeſs hiſtory is the grave of ſuch a Providence, but certainly to the advantage of truth. For what kind of a Providence muſt it be, that every one could employ as a hobgoblin in the order of things, as the agent of his narrow deſigns, as the ally of his pitiful follies; ſo that the whole would ultimately remain without a maſter! The God, whom I ſeek in hiſtory, muſt be the ſame as in nature: for man is but a ſmall part of the whole; and his hiſtory, like that of the grub, is intimately interwoven with that of the web he inhabits. In it, therefore, natural laws muſt prevail, that are inherent in the eſſence of things; and with which the deity is ſo far from being able to diſpenſe, that he reveals himſelf in his ſupreme power, with invariable wiſdom, goodneſs, and beauty, even in thoſe which himſelf has founded.

ed. Every thing, that can take place upon Earth, muſt take place upon it, provided it happens according to rules, that carry their perfection within themſelves. Let us repeat theſe rules, which we have already developed, as far as they regard the hiſtory of mankind: they all bear in themſelves the ſtamp of wiſe goodneſs, of exalted beauty, and even of intrinſic neceſſity.

1. Every thing, that can live on our Earth, lives upon it: for every organization carries in it's eſſence an union of various powers, which limit each other, and thus limited are capable of attaining in themſelves a maximum of durability. Could they not attain this, the powers would ſeparate, and form unions of a different kind.

2. Among theſe organized bodies man aroſe, the crown of the terreſtrial creation. Innumerable powers united in him, and attained a maximum, the underſtanding; as their material parts, the human body, did alſo, in the centre of gravity, according to laws of the moſt beautiful ſymmetry and order. Thus in the character of man were given the baſis of his duration and happineſs, the ſtamp of his deſtination, and the whole courſe of his earthly fate.

3. This character of man is termed intelligence: for it underſtands the language of God in the creation, that is, it ſeeks the rule of order, according to which things are founded connectedly on their eſſences. Thus it's intrinſic law is the perception of exiſtence and truth; the connexion of creatures according to their relations and qualities. It is an image of the deity: for it inveſtigates the laws of nature,

nature, the ideas in conformity to which the Creator connected them, and which he made eſſential to them. Reaſon, therefore, can no more act arbitrarily, than God himſelf has thought at random.

4. Man began to perceive and to examine the powers of nature from his immediate wants. His aim extended no farther than to his well being, that is, to the due employment of his own powers in exerciſe and reſt. He became connected with other beings; and ſtill his own ſtate of exiſtence was the meaſure of his connexions. The rule of equity preſſed itſelf upon him; for this is nothing more than practical reaſon, the meaſure of the actions and reactions of ſimilar beings for the general ſecurity.

5. Human nature is conſtructed on this principle; ſo that no individual can ſuppoſe himſelf to exiſt for the ſake of another, or of poſterity. If the loweſt in the rank of men follow the law of reaſon and juſtice, that is within him; he poſſeſſes conſiſtency; that is, he enjoys durability and well being; he is rational, juſt, and happy. Theſe he is not by the will of another creature, or of the creator, but by the laws of a general order of nature, founded on that order itſelf. If he deviate from the rule of equity, his avenging faults themſelves muſt ſhow him the diſorder, and induce him to return to reaſon and juſtice, as the laws of his exiſtence and his happineſs.

6. As his nature is compoſed of very different elements, this he ſeldom does in the ſhorteſt way; he vibrates between two extremes, till he accommodates

dates himſelf to his ſtate of exiſtence, and reaches the temperate mean, in which he imagines his well being to conſiſt. If he err in this, he muſt be ſecretly conſcious of it, and ſuffer the conſequences of his fault. Theſe, however, he ſuffers but to a certain degree; for either fate corrects them by means of his own endeavours, or his being no longer finds an internal capacity of ſubſiſtence. Supreme wiſdom could not impart more beneficial uſes to phyſical pain and moral evil, for nothing ſuperiour can be conceived.

7. Had one ſingle man alone trodden the Earth, the object of human exiſtence would have been accompliſhed in him; as we muſt conſider it to be accompliſhed, in ſo many individuals and nations, whom circumſtances of time and place ſeparated from the general chain of the ſpecies. But as every thing, that can live upon the Earth, endures as long as it can remain in it's ſtate of permanency; ſo the human ſpecies, like every other kind of living beings, poſſeſſes ſuch intrinſic tranſmiſſive powers, as could find, and have found, proportion and order ſuitable to the whole. Thus reaſon, the eſſence of man, and it's organ, tradition, have been inherited through a ſerics of ſucceſſive generations. The Earth was gradually filled, and man became every thing, that, in ſuch a period and no other, he could become upon Earth.

8. Thus the propagation of families and traditions, connected human reaſon: not as if it were in each individual no more than a fragment of the whole, a whole exiſting no where in one ſubject, and therefore by no means the end of the Creator; but becauſe

cauſe the diſpoſition and concatenation of the whole ſpecies led to this. As men are propagated, ſo are animals; yet no general animal reaſon ariſes from their generations: but as reaſon alone gives permanency to mankind, it muſt be propagated, as the characteriſtic of the ſpecies; for without it the ſpecies would ceaſe to be.

9. In the ſpecies, as a whole, reaſon has experienced the ſame fate, as in it's individual members; for of individual members the whole conſiſts. It has often been diſturbed by the wild paſſions of men, acting with ſtill more violence from conjunction, turned out of it's way for centuries, and lain as if dormant beneath it's aſhes. To all theſe diſorders Providence has applied no other remedy, than what ſhe adminiſters to individuals; namely, that each fault ſhould be followed by it's correſpondent evil, and every act of indolence, folly, malice, raſhneſs, and injuſtice, be it's own puniſhment. But as the ſpecies appears in collective bodies in ſuch circumſtances, children muſt ſuffer for the faults of their parents, the people for the folly of their rulers, and poſterity for the indolence of their anceſtors; and if they will not, or cannot, correct the evil, they may ſuffer under it for ages.

10. Thus the weal of the whole is the greateſt good of each individual: for it is the inherent right and duty of every one, who ſuffers under it's evils, to ward off theſe evils from himſelf, and diminiſh them for his fellows. Nature has not calculated for ſovereigns and ſtates, but for the welfare of men. The former ſuffer not ſo ſpeedily for their vices

vices and follies as individuals, becauſe they always reckon only with the whole, in which the miſeries of the poor are long ſuppreſſed; but the ſtate ultimately ſuffers, and with ſo much more violent a concuſſion. In all theſe things the laws of retaliation diſplay themſelves, as do the laws of motion on the ſhock of the ſlighteſt phyſical ſubſtance; and the greateſt ſovereign of Europe is not leſs ſubject to the natural laws of the human ſpecies, than the leaſt of his people. This condition merely binds him, to be an economiſt of theſe natural laws; and, by that power, which he enjoys only through the means of other men, to be for other men a wiſe and good terreſtrial divinity.

11. In general hiſtory, too, as in the lives of careleſs individuals, all the follies and vices of mankind are exhauſted; till at length they are compelled by neceſſity, to learn reaſon and juſtice. Whatever can happen, happens; and produces, what from it's nature it can produce. This law of nature hinders not even the moſt eccentric power in it's operation; but it confines all by the rule, that one oppoſing effect deſtroys another, and what is uſeful alone ultimately remains. The evil, that deſtroys another, muſt ſubmit to order, or deſtroy itſelf. The rational and virtuous are uniformly happy in the kingdom of God; for virtue requires external reward, no more than reaſon covets it. If their works be not accompanied by external ſucceſs, not to them, but to their age will be the loſs: yet neither the diſcord nor folly of man can for ever counteract them; they will ſucceed, when their time arrives.

12. Still

12. Still human Reaſon purſues her courſe in the ſpecies in general: ſhe invents, before ſhe can apply; ſhe diſcovers, though evil hands may long abuſe her diſcoveries. Abuſe will correct itſelf; and, through the unwearied zeal of ever-growing Reaſon, diſorder will in time become order. By contending againſt paſſions, ſhe ſtrengthens and enlightens herſelf: from being oppreſſed in this place, ſhe will fly to that, and extend the ſphere of her ſway over the Earth. There is nothing enthuſiaſtical in the hope, that, wherever men dwell, at ſome future period will dwell men rational, juſt, and happy: happy, not through the means of their own reaſon alone, but of the common reaſon of their whole fraternal race.

I bend before this lofty ſketch of the general wiſdom of Nature with regard to the whole of my fellow creatures the more willingly, as I perceive, that it is Nature's univerſal plan. The law that ſuſtained the mundane ſyſtem, and formed each cryſtal, each worm; each flake of ſnow, formed and ſuſtained alſo the human ſpecies: it made it's own nature the baſis of it's continuance, and progreſſive action, as long as men ſhall exiſt. All the works of God have their ſtability in themſelves, and in their beautiful conſiſtency: for they all repoſe, within their determinate limits, on the equilibrium of contending powers, by their intrinſic energy, which reduces theſe to order. Guided by this clew, I wander through the labyrinth of hiſtory, and every where perceive divine harmonious order: for what can any where occur, does occur; what can operate

rate, operates. But reaſon and juſtice alone endure; madneſs and folly deſtroy the Earth and themſelves.

Thus when I hear a Brutus at Philippi, with the dagger in his hand, looking up to the ſtarry ſky, ſay, according to the fabled ſtory, 'O Virtue, I believed thee ſomething; but now I perceive, that thou art a dream!' I cannot diſcover the calm philoſopher in the latter part of the complaint. Had he poſſeſſed true virtue, this, as well as his reaſon, would ever have found it's own reward, and muſt have rewarded him even at that moment. But if his virtue were mere roman patriotiſm, is it to be wondered, that the weaker yielded to the more ſtrong, that the indolent ſunk before the more alert? Thus the victory of Antony, with all it's conſequences, belonged to the order of things, and to the natural fate of Rome.

In like manner when among us the virtuous man ſo often complains, that his labours miſcarry; that brutal force and oppreſſion prevail upon Earth; and that mankind ſeem to be given merely as a prey to the paſſions, and to folly: let the genius of his underſtanding appear to him, and interrogate him friendly, whether his virtue be of the right kind, and connected with that intelligence, that activity, which alone deſerve the name of virtue. Every labour, it muſt be confeſſed, does not ſucceed on all occaſions; but do thy beſt, that it may ſucceed, and promote it's time, it's place, and that internal ſtability, in which real good alone ſubſiſts. Rude powers can be regulated only by reaſon: but they

they require an actual counterpoiſe, that is prudence, zeal, and the whole force of goodneſs, to reduce them to order, and maintain them in it with ſalutary control.

It is a beautiful dream of future life, that we ſhall there enjoy friendly intercourſe with all the wiſe and good, who have ever acted for the benefit of mankind, and gone to the regions above with the ſweet reward of accompliſhed labours: but hiſtory in a certain degree unlocks to us this arbour of pleaſing converſation and intimacy with the intelligent and juſt of all ages. Here Plato ſtands before me: there I liſten to the friendly interrogations of Socrates, and participate in his laſt fate. When Marcus Antoninus confers in ſecret with his own heart, he confers alſo with mine; and the poor Epictetus iſſues commands more powerful than thoſe of a king. The afflicted Tully, the unfortunate Boethius, confidentially diſcloſe to me the circumſtances of their lives, their ſorrows, and their conſolations. How ample, yet how narrow, is the human heart! How individual, yet how recurrent, are all it's paſſions and deſires, it's faults and foibles, it's hope and it's enjoyment! The problem of humanity has been ſolved a thouſand ways around me, yet every where the reſult of man's endeavours is the ſame: 'the eſſence, the object, and the fate of our ſpecies, reſt on underſtanding and juſtice.' There is no nobler uſe of hiſtory than this: it unfolds to us as it were the counſels of Fate, and teaches us, inſignificant as we are, to act according to God's eternal laws. By teaching us the faults

and conſequences of every ſpecies of irrationality, it aſſigns us our ſhort and tranquil ſcene on that great theatre, where Reaſon and Goodneſs, contending indeed with wild powers, ſtill, from their nature, create order, and hold on in the path of victory.

Hitherto we have been wandering through the obſcure field of ancient nations; we now joyfully advance to approaching day, and view the harveſt, that the ſeed of antiquity has produced for ſucceeding ages. Rome deſtroyed the balance of nations; and under her a World bled to death: what new ſtate will ariſe from this balance deſtroyed? what new creature will ſpring from the aſhes of ſo many nations?

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XVI.

AS we now come to the ancient nations of the northern part of the World, ſome of whom were our anceſtors, from whom we have derived our manners and political conſtitutions, I deem it unneceſſary, to apologize for ſaying the truth. For what would it avail, to write of the africans and aſiatics with boldneſs, if we were obliged to ſuppreſs our opinions concerning times and people, that concern us much more nearly, than all that has long been conſigned to the duſt beyond the Alps and the Taurus? Hiſtory demands truth; and to a philoſophy of hiſtory the impartial love of truth at leaſt is requiſite.

Nature herſelf has ſeparated this region by a mound of rocks, known by the names of Muſtag, Altai, Kitzigtag, Ural, Caucaſus, Taurus, Hæmus, and farther on the Carpathian mountains, the gigantic Alps, and the Pyrenees. To the north of theſe, in ſo different a ſoil and climate, the inhabitants muſt neceſſarily aſſume a form and mode of life altogether foreign to thoſe of more ſouthern nations: for there is nothing on the whole Earth, by means of which Nature has created ſuch laſting differences, as mountains. Here ſhe ſits on her

eternal throne, ſends forth her ſtreams and meteors, and frequently diſtributes to nations oppoſite propenſities and fortunes, as to climates oppoſite qualities. If, therefore, we be told, that people beyond the mountains, who had dwelt for hundreds or thouſands of years in the vaſt ſaline and ſandy plains of Tatary, or in the woods and deſerts of northern Europe, had introduced into the fineſt territories of the roman and grecian empires a vandal, gothic, ſcythian, tatarian way of life, various marks of which are ſtill perceptible in Europe; we ſhall neither be ſurpriſed at this, nor deceitfully aſcribe to ourſelves a falſe appearance of cultivation; but, like Rinaldo, look into the mirror of truth, obſerve in it our form, and, if we ſtill bear about us here and there the jingling decorations of the barbariſm of our fathers, nobly exchange them for genuine cultivation and humanity, the only real ornaments of our ſpecies.

But before we enter the edifice, celebrated under the appellation of *the commonwealth of Europe*, that has become an object of aſtoniſhment or of dread by it's effect upon the whole Earth; let us endeavour to acquire ſome knowledge of the people, who have actively or paſſively contributed to the erection of this gigantic temple. The volume of our northern hiſtory, it muſt be avowed, is ſmall: with the moſt celebrated nations it reaches no farther than to the romans; and as little as a man knows of the annals of his birth and infancy, as little is known by theſe barbarous and unſettled nations. The remains of the moſt ancient are ſcarcely to be met

met with, except among mountains, or in nooks of land, in rude or impenetrable regions, where their ancient language, and the retention of a few old cuſtoms, barely indicate their origin: their conquerors, in the mean time, have every where ſeized on the more extenſive and fertile country; and if not expelled by others, poſſeſs them ſtill by the right of war, derived from their fathers, and govern them with greater equity, more or leſs in the tatarian manner, or from gradual improvement in juſtice and policy. Farewel, you milder regions beyond the mountains, India and Aſia, Greece and the ſhores of Italy! if we viſit moſt of you again, it will be in a different character, it will be as northern *conquerors*.

CHAPTER I.

Baſques, Gael, and Cimbri.

OF all the numerous tribes, that once inhabited the peninſula of Spain, there are none, who have the leaſt claim to antiquity remaining, the baſques excepted. Theſe, ſtill dwelling about the Pyrenees in Spain and France, have retained their ancient language, which is one of the oldeſt in the World. It is probable, they once extended over the greateſt part of Spain; if we may judge from the names of many rivers and towns, which, notwithſtanding the changes they have undergone, are obviouſly of baſque origin*. From them is ſaid to be derived the

* See *Inveſtigaziones hiſtoricas de las Antiquedades de Navarra*, 'Hiſtorical Inveſtigation of the Antiquities of Navarre,' by Moret.

the word *ſilver*, the name of a metal, which, together with iron, has effected moſt of the revolutions, that have taken place in Europe, and in all the reſt of the World: for Spain is reported, to have been the firſt country in Europe, where mines were worked, being very conveniently ſituate for the phenicians and carthaginians, the earlieſt mercantile nations in this part of the Globe, to whom it was anciently a Peru.

The people themſelves, who are well known under the appellation of vaſcones and cantabri, have ſhown themſelves in ancient hiſtory alert, active, valiant, and lovers of freedom. They accompanied Hannibal into Italy, and their name appears terrible in the roman poets. To them and the ſpaniſh celts it was owing, that the romans found the ſubjugation of Spain ſo difficult: Auguſtus was the firſt who triumphed over them, and this probably in appearance only, for ſuch as would not ſerve the romans retired to the mountains. As the vandals, alans, ſuevi, goths, and other teutonic nations, purſued their roving courſe through the Pyrences, and ſome of them founded kingdoms in their neighbourhood, they were ſtill the brave, reſtleſs people, that had not loſt their courage under the yoke of the romans: and when Charlemagne returned through their country from his victory over the ſaracens in Spain, they were ſtill the ſame, their artful attack occaſioned the

Moret, Pampelune, 1665, book I: *Oihenarti Notitia utriuſque Vaſconiæ*, 'Oihenart's Account of the two Gaſconies,' Par. 1638, book I: and particularly Larramendi's *Diccionario trilingue, de las Perfecciones de el Baſcuence*, 'Trilingual Dictionary, of the Perfections of the Baſque Language,' Part II.

defeat at Roncevallos, ſo famous in ancient romance, where the great Roland was ſlain. They afterwards gave much trouble to the franks in Spain and Aquitain, as they had before to the ſuevi and goths; they were by no means idle in the recovery of the country out of the hands of the ſaracens; and even in the moſt barbarous ages of the deepeſt monachal oppreſſion they retained their character. When, after a long night, the dawn of ſcience beamed on Europe, the lively poetry of the neighbouring provencals diffuſed it in ſome degree over their land, which in later times has given many a gay and enlightened genius to France. It is to be wiſhed, that we knew more of the language, manners, and hiſtory, of theſe lively and impetuous people, and that, as Macpherſon has done among the caledonians, a ſecond Larramendi would ſearch after the remains of their ancient national gaſcon ſpirit.* It is probable, that the ſtory of the celebrated battle of Roland, which, from the monkiſh epopee of archbiſhop Turpin, gave birth to ſo many romances and heroic poems in the middle ages, has been ſtill preſerved among them: and if not, their country was at leaſt the Scæan gate, which for a long time filled the imaginations of the people of Europe with adventures, related there to have taken place.

* Larramendi, in the prolix eſſay on the perfection of the baſque language quoted in the preceding note, could not think of ſuch a thing, § 18—20. That in his *Arte del Baſcuence*, 'Varieties of the Baſque,' he mentioned nothing of it, may be ſeen from Dieze's *Geſchichte der Spaniſchen Dichtkunſt*, 'Hiſtory of Spaniſh Poetry,' p. 111, and following; and perhaps all remembrance of it is loſt.

The gael, who, under the name of gauls and celts, were much better known and more celebrated than the baſques, experienced in the end a ſimilar fate. In Spain they poſſeſſed an extenſive and fine country, in which they withſtood the arms of the romans with no ſmall fame. In Gaul, which derived it's name from them, they employed Cæſar ten years; and in Britain they maintained themſelves ſtill longer againſt his ſucceſſors, all whoſe labours ultimately proved vain, as they were forced at laſt to abandon the iſland. Beſide theſe, Helvetia, the upper part of Italy, and the lower part of Germany along the Danube as far as Illyricum and Pannonia, were occupied by their different tribes and colonies, if not every where fully peopled by them; and in ancient times they were of all enemies the moſt dreaded by the romans. Their leader Brennus laid Rome in aſhes, and had nearly put an end to the future ſovereign of the World. One body of them penetrated into Thrace, Greece, and Aſia Minor, where they were more than once formidable under the name of galatians.

Their race was moſt durably fixed, however, in Gaul and the britiſh iſlands, where they certainly did not remain wholly uncivilized. Here they had their memorable druidical religion, and in Britain their chief druids: here they had eſtabliſhed that remarkable conſtitution, of which monuments ſtill exiſt, in thoſe heaps of ſtones, part of them of vaſt magnitude, that are to be ſeen in Britain, Ireland, and the neighbouring iſlands; monuments, that, like the pyramids of Egypt, will yet remain probably

probably for thouſands of years, and be for ever perhaps inexplicable enigmas. They had a kind of political and military conſtitution of their own, which was at length overturned by the romans, in conſequence of the diſcords, that aroſe between their chiefs: they were by no means deſtitute of phyſical knowledge, and ſuch arts as appear ſuitable to their condition; and ſtill leſs were they in want of poetry and ſong, the ſoul of barbarous nations. Theſe, in the mouths of their bards, were particularly dedicated to the chaunting of deeds of valour, and celebrating the achievements of their fathers *. Oppoſed to Cæſar and his army, arrayed with all the military art of the romans, it muſt be confeſſed they appear as half ſavages: but compared with other northern nations, and with ſeveral german tribes, they wear a different aſpect, evidently excelling them in quickneſs and addreſs, and in arts, civilization, and political inſtitutions: for as the

* Beſide what has been collected or imagined concerning the celts by older writers, as Pelletier, Pezron, Martin, Picard, &c; and what has been ſaid of the origin and inſtitutions of the ancient inhabitants of Britain by engliſh, ſcots, and iriſh, as Barrington, Cordiner, Henry, Jones, Macpherſon, Maitland, Lhwyd, Owen, Shaw, Vallancey, Whitaker, and others; we may venture to cite a german work, which may be termed critical beyond them all, Sprengel's Hiſtory of Great Britain (Continuation of the Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. XLVII), the beginning of which tacitly corrects a number of old errours reſpecting the gael and cimbri. The author gives, too, in his uſual manner, an account of the remaining monuments of the britons, conveying in few words information, to which the reader may truſt with ſafety.

character

character of the germans ſtill reſembles in many leading features the picture drawn by Tacitus, ſo, in ſpite of all the changes induced by time, the ancient gaul is ſtill diſcernible in his modern deſcendants. But the numerous and widely ſpread nations of this race neceſſarily differed much, according to place, time, circumſtances, and their various degrees of civilization, ſo that the gael on the coaſts of Ireland, or in the highlands of Scotland, could have little in common with a gallic or celtiberian people, who had long enjoyed the neighbourhood of more cultivated nations or towns.

The fate of the gael in their extenſive region terminated lamentably. According to the earlieſt accounts we have of them, they had on either ſide the Channel the belgæ or cimbri on their borders, who appear to have preſſed upon them on all hands. On either ſide this ſtrait, too, they were conquered, firſt by the romans, and afterwards by ſeveral teutonic nations; by whom we ſee them frequently oppreſſed with great violence, enfeebled, or extirpated and expelled; ſo that the gaelic language is now to be found only in the extreme parts of their poſſeſſions, in Ireland, in the Hebrides, and on the bare highlands of Scotland. Goths, franks, burgundians, alemans, ſaxons, normans, and other german nations, variouſly intermixed, have taken poſſeſſion of their lands, eradicated their language, and extirpated their name.

Oppreſſion, however, ſucceeded not wholly to efface from the Earth every living monument of the intrinſic character of this people: ſoft as the tone

tone of the harp broke from the grave a tender, mournful voice, the voice of Oſſian, the ſon of Fingal, and ſome of his contemporaries. It not only places before our eyes, as in a magic glaſs, repreſentations of ancient deeds and manners; but the general ſentiments and mode of thinking of a people at ſuch a point of cultivation, in ſuch a country, and with ſuch manners, vibrate through our hearts and minds. Oſſian and his contemporaries convey to us more information reſpecting the interiour ſtate of the ancient gael, than a hiſtorian could give, and are at the ſame time affecting preachers of humanity, as it exiſts even in the moſt ſimple forms of ſociety. There tender ſtrings are ſtretched from heart to heart, and every chord emits a plaintive note. 'What Homer was to the greeks, a gaelic Oſſian might have been to his countrymen, had the gael been greeks, and had Oſſian been a Homer. But as Oſſian's ſong reſounded only the dying words of an oppreſſed people, amid the miſty mountains of a deſert, illumining as with a hallowed flame the graves of his fathers; while Homer, born in Ionia, in the boſom of a riſing nation, conſiſting of many flouriſhing ſtates and iſlands, in the radiance of the morning-beam, depicted under a far different ſky, and in a very different language, what he beheld before him clear, open, and diſtinct, and what other men of genius afterwards applied in ſuch various ways: he, who ſeeks a grecian Homer in the mountains of Caledonia, unqueſtionably ſeeks one in a wrong place. Sound ſtill, however, thou miſt-

miſtenveloped harp of Oſſian; happy in all ages he, who liſtens to thy gentle notes *.

The name of the *cimbri* denotes them, to be inhabitants of the mountains; and if they were the ſame with the belgians, we find them along the weſtern bank of the Rhine from the Alps to it's mouth, nay once perhaps to the Cimbrian cherſoneſe, which, it is probable, was originally a much more extenſive land. By german tribes, ſettling cloſe upon them, they were driven in bodies acroſs the ſea; ſo that they ſtraitened the gael in Britain, and ſoon acquired poſſeſſion of it's eaſt and ſouthern coaſts: and as the tribes on both ſides the water preſerved their connexion, and were more expert in many arts than the gael, there was nothing, which, from their ſituation, they could purſue with greater ſucceſs than piracy. They appear to have been more ſavage than the gael, and improved little in manners under the romans; and when theſe left

* It ſeems ſingular, that, while two nations, the ſcots and iriſh, contend for the honour of having given birth to Oſſian and to Fingal, neither has yet juſtified it's claim, by publiſhing the beautiful ſongs of Oſſian, *with their original melodies*, which are ſaid to be ſtill in uſe. Theſe could not eaſily be forged; and the *ſtructure of the poems* in the *original language*, with a gloſſary, and ſuitable notes, would not ſerve merely as a juſtification, but would give us more information reſpecting the language, muſic, and poetry, of the gael, than their Ariſtotle, Blair. Such a gaelic anthology would not only be a claſſic work for the native admirers of theſe poems, by means of which what the language has to boaſt of as moſt beautiful would be long preſerved; but even foreigners would find in it much, that would be highly acceptable, and ſuch a book would ever remain of great importance to the *hiſtory of man*.

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their iſland, they ſunk into ſuch barbariſm and depravity, that they were obliged to call in to their aſſiſtance at one time the romans, at another, to their own coſt, the ſaxons. From theſe german auxiliaries they ſuffered much. They came over in hordes, and ſoon ravaged the country with fire and ſword: neither men, nor inſtitutions, were ſpared by them: the land was made a deſert; and at length we find ſuch of the poor cimbri, as were not extirpated, pent up in the weſtern corner of Britain, in the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, or forced to take refuge in Brittany.

Nothing can equal the hatred, which the cimbri conceived for their treacherous aſſiſtants, the ſaxons, and which they cheriſhed with great warmth for centuries, after they were confined to their naked mountains. Here they long maintained their independance, language, form of government, and manners, of which we have ſtill a remarkable deſcription in the regulations of the courts of their kings and their officers *; but at length their end arrived. Wales was conquered, and united with England: the language of the cimbri alone was preſerved, as it is to this day, both in Wales and in Brittany. It is ſtill preſerved, but in remains that poſſeſs little ſecurity: and it would be well, if it's characteriſtics were conſigned to books †; for, like

* Sprengel's *Geſchichte von Groſsbritannien*, 'Hiſtory of Great Britain,' p. 373–92.

† In Borlaſe, Bullet, Lloyd, Roſtrenen, le Brigant, the tranſlation of the Bible, &c. The poetic tales of king Arthur and his knights, however, have been little examined in their original form.

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the languages of all nations thus expelled by others, it will infallibly be annihilated, and this firſt of all probably in Brittany. The characters of nations are gradually extinguiſhed in the natural courſe of things: their lineaments wear out, and they are caſt into the crucible of Time, where they ſubſide into a dead maſs, or are rendered pure for the reception of a freſh impreſſion.

The moſt memorable, of what has been handed down to us of the cimbri, is the account of their king Arthur, and his knights of the round table, which has had wonderful effect on the imaginations of men. It was naturally late, before the tales of theſe appeared in books, and they did not receive their romantic garb, till after the time of the croiſades; but they belonged originally to the cimbri, for Arthur reigned in Cornwall, where, and in Wales, a hundred places ſtill retain his name in popular ſtory. Animated by the romantic invention of the normans, it is probable, the tale received it's firſt embelliſhments in Brittany, which was peopled by a colony of the cimbri; whence it ſpread with numerous additions over England, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, and was afterwards adopted by the poets of more refined ages. Fables from the eaſt were engrafted into it; legends were called in, to give it their ſanction; and thus aroſe the beautiful ſeries of knights, giants, fairies, dragons, and adventures, with the enchanter Merlin, likewiſe a welchman, for centuries the delight of knights and ladies. It would be vain to inquire preciſely when king Arthur lived:

lived: but to trace the foundation, the hiſtory, and the effects, of theſe tales and fictions, through all the nations and ages in which they flouriſhed, and place them in their proper light as hiſtorical phenomena, would be an adventure of no ſmall fame, equally pleaſing and inſtructive, and to which the way has already been cleared *.

CHAPTER II.

Fins, Lettonians, and Pruſſians.

THE race of fins, to whom, however, this name is as little known as that of laps to a branch of them, for they call themſelves *ſuomi*, extends, even in the preſent day, along the northern extremity of Europe, the ſhores of the Baltic, and into Aſia. In early times, it certainly ſpread ſtill farther, and more to the ſouth. In Europe, beſide the fins and laps, the ingrians, eſthonians, and livonians, belong

* T. Warton's eſſay on the origin of romantic fiction in Europe, prefixed to his Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, and tranſlated in Eſchenburg's *Brittiſch. Muſeum*, Vol. III, V, has ſome uſeful materials; but as he evidently adopts a miſtaken ſyſtem, the whole muſt aſſume a different form. In Percel's and the more modern *Bibliothéque des Romans*, 'Bibliotheca of Romances,' in the remarks of different engliſhmen on Chaucer, Spenſer, Shakſpeare, &c., in their archæologiæ, in the remarks of Du Freſne and others on ſeveral ancient hiſtorians, ſufficient data and materials might be found. A ſhort hiſtory by Sprengel would reduce this chaos to order, and unqueſtionably exhibit it in an inſtructive light.

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to this race; and farther on the ſyrans, permians, woguls, wotiacs, cheremiſſes, morduans, condian oſtiacs, and others, are related to it; and the hungarians, or magyars, appear to be from the ſame ſtem, on comparing their language with that of the fins *.

It is not clear how far down in Norway and Sweden the laps and fins once dwelt; but this is certain, that the ſcandinavian germans were continually preſſing them farther towards the northern frontier, which they ſtill inhabit. They appear to have poſſeſſed moſt activity on the coaſts of the White Sea and the Baltic, where they followed piracy, and carried on a little trade. In Permia, or Biarmaland, their idol Jumala had a barbarouſly ſplendid temple. Hither, likewiſe, the northern german adventurers principally came, to barter, to plunder, and to demand tribute. Theſe people, however, nowhere attained any mature or ſubſtantial civilization, for which their unfavourable ſituation, not their capacity, muſt be blamed. They were not warriors, like the germans; for, after ſo many ages

* See Buettner's *Vergleichungs-tabellen der Schriftarten*, 'Comparative Tables of Modes of Writing;' Gatterer's *Einleitung zur Univerſalhiſtorie*, 'Introduction to Univerſal Hiſtory;' Schlœtzer's *allgemeine Nordiſche Geſchichte*, 'General Hiſtory of the North;' &c. The book laſt quoted, being the 31ſt vol. of the Continuation of the Univerſal Hiſtory, contains a valuable collection of inquiries, by the author and others, concerning the deſcent and ancient hiſtory of the northern nations, which excites a wiſh for more ſuch compilations of the labours of an Ihre, Suhm, Lagerbring, &c.

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of oppreſſion, all the popular tales and ſongs of the laps, fins, and eſthonians, prove them to be a gentle people. Beſides, as their tribes lived for the moſt part without connexion, and many of them without any political conſtitution, what actually happened, when they were preſſed upon by other nations, was naturally to have been expected; namely, that the laps ſhould be driven toward the north pole; the fins, ingrians, eſthonians, &c., reduced under the yoke of ſlavery; and the livonians, nearly extirpated. The fate of the nations on the Baltic fills a melancholy page in the hiſtory of mankind.

The only people of this race, that forced themſelves into the rank of conquerors, are the hungarians or magyars. It is probable they firſt ſeated themſelves in the land of the baſhkirians, between the Wolga and the Yaik: they then founded a hungarian kingdom between the Wolga and the Black Sea, which ſplit into pieces. They next came under the chazars, and were ſeparated by the petſhenegrins, founding on the one hand the magyar kingdom on the frontiers of Perſia, on the other entering into Europe in ſeven hordes, and carrying on furious wars with the bulgarians. Being impelled farther onwards by theſe, the emperor Arnulph called in their aſſiſtance againſt the moravians. From Pannonia they now invaded Moravia, Bavaria, and Upper Italy, which they cruelly ravaged: they carried fire and ſword into Thuringia, Saxony, Franconia, Heſſe, Swabia, Alſatia, and even France, and afterwards Italy; and impoſed a diſgraceful tribute on the german emperors: till at length they

were ſo reduced, partly by the plague, partly by terrible defeats of their armies in Saxony, Swabia, and Weſtphalia, that the german empire was rendered ſecure from their attacks, and indeed Hungary itſelf annexed to the apoſtolical dominions. At preſent, intermingled with ſclavonians, germans, wallachians, and others, they conſtitute the ſmaller number of the inhabitants, and in a few centuries perhaps their language will be nearly extinct.

The lithuanians, courlanders, and lettonians, on the Baltic, are of uncertain origin: according to all probability, however, they were impelled onward, till the ſea ſtopped their progreſs. Notwithſtanding the mixture of their language with others, it ſtill retains a peculiar character, and is probably the daughter of an ancient parent, originally of ſome diſtant region. Surrounded by german, ſclavonian, and finniſh nations, the peaceable lettonian race could no where extend, ſtill leſs improve, and at length, like it's neighbours the pruſſians, was moſt remarkable for the violences, which all the inhabitants of theſe coaſts experienced, partly from the new-converted poles, partly from the teutonic knights, and thoſe whom they called in to their aſſiſtance *. Humanity

* A ſhort hiſtory of the pruſſians, from the uſeful collections and preparatory labours of Hartknoch, Prætorius, Lilienthal, and others, is deſirable, and perhaps has already appeared unknown to me. This little corner of the Earth has done much, without any encouragement, for the hiſtory of it's own and the neighbouring nations: the name of Bayer alone is equivalent to a multitude. The ancient pruſſian conſtitution on the banks of

nity ſhudders at the blood, that was here ſpilled in long and ſavage wars, till the ancient pruſſians were nearly extirpated, and the courlanders and lettonians reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery, under the yoke of which they ſtill languiſh. Centuries perhaps will paſs, before it is removed, and theſe peaceful people are recompenſed for the barbarities, with which they were deprived of land and liberty, by being humanely formed anew to the uſe and enjoyment of an improved freedom.

Our eyes have now been long enough fixed on oppreſſed, extirpated, or ſubjugated people; let us turn them on thoſe, by whom they were oppreſſed and ſubdued.

CHAPTER III.

German Nations.

WE now come to the people, who, by their ſize and ſtrength of body; their enterprizing, bold, and perſevering ſpirit in war; their heroic propenſity to military ſervice, to follow in a body their leaders, wherever they choſe to conduct them, and to divide the lands they ſubdued as their booty; with their extenſive conqueſts, and the general diffuſion of the german political conſtitution around; contributed more than any other race to the weal and woe of

of the Viſtula, which names Widewut as it's founder, and a chief druid, Kriwe, with the whole race of the people, particularly deſerves inveſtigation. In the hiſtory of Livonia, Arndt, Hupel, and others, deſerve our praiſe.

this quarter of the Globe. From the ſhores of the Black Sea the arms of the germans were terrible throughout Europe: one gothic empire extended formerly from the Wolga to the Baltic: in Thrace, Mœſia, Pannonia, Italy, Gaul, Spain, and even Africa, different german nations, at different periods, ſettled, and founded kingdoms: by them the romans, ſaracens, gael, cimbri, laps, fins, eſthonians, ſclavonians, courlanders, pruſſians, and even one another, were driven from their poſſeſſions; by them all the modern kingdoms of Europe were founded, their diſtinctions of rank were introduced, and the elements of their juriſprudence were inculcated. More than once they attacked, took, and plundered Rome: ſeveral times they beſieged Conſtantinople, and even made themſelves maſters of it: at Jeruſalem they founded a chriſtian monarchy: and in the preſent day, partly by the princes whom they have ſeated on every throne in Europe, and partly by the kingdoms themſelves they have founded, they exerciſe more or leſs dominion, either as poſſeſſors, or by their manufactures and trade, over all the four quarters of the Globe. But ſince no effect is without a cauſe, there muſt have been ſome cauſe for this vaſt ſeries of effects.

1. *This cauſe lies not in the character of the nation alone: it's phyſical and political ſituation, and a number of circumſtances, which combined in no other northern nation, cooperated in the courſe of their achievements.* Their large, ſtrong, and well proportioned bodies, with their ſtern blue eyes, were animated by a ſpirit of fidelity

and temperance, which rendered them obedient to their ſuperiours, bold in attack, unappalled by peril, and to other nations, the degenerate romans included, pleaſing as friends, terrible as foes. Germans ſerved in the roman armies at an early period, and they were particularly preferred as body-guards by the emperors: nay, when the threatened empire was unable to protect itſelf, german armies fought for pay againſt it's enemies, even againſt their own brethren. In this ſervice, which continued for ſome centuries, ſeveral of their nations acquired a degree of military diſcipline and ſcience, to which other barbarians neceſſarily remained ſtrangers; at the ſame time the example of the romans, and an acquaintance with their feebleneſs, gradually inſpired them with a deſire of national expeditions, and of conquering for themſelves. If this degenerate Rome had once ſubdued nations, and raiſed itſelf to the ſovereignty of the World, why ſhould not the ſame be done by them, without whoſe arms the romans were incapable of exerting any force? Accordingly, if we paſs over the more ancient incurſions of the teutones and cimbri, and begin with the enterprizing chiefs Arioviſtus, Marbutus, and Hermann, the firſt ſhocks were given to the territories of the romans by borderers, or by leaders who were acquainted with their art of war, and had been often employed in their armies, ſo as to be ſufficiently acquainted with the weakneſs of Rome, and ſubſequently of Conſtantinople. Some of them were even auxiliaries of the romans, at the

time when they thought fit, to appropriate to themſelves the countries they had recovered. As the propinquity of a rich and feeble ſtate to one that is ſtrong and needy, the aid of which is indiſpenſable to it, neceſſarily leads to the ſuperiority and rule of the latter; the romans themſelves here put the ſword into the hands of the germans, who were eſtabliſhed directly oppoſite to them in the centre of Europe, and whom they ſoon admitted from neceſſity into their ſtate or their armies.

2. *The long reſiſtance, which ſeveral nations of our Germany had to make againſt the romans, neceſſarily ſtrengthened their powers, and their hatred to an hereditary enemy, who boaſted more of triumphing over them, than over any other people.* The romans were terrible to the germans both on the Rhine and on the Danube: willingly as theſe had aſſiſted the arms of Rome againſt the gauls and others, they were by no means inclined to ſerve under them as their own conquerors. Hence the long wars from the time of Auguſtus, which, the feebler the roman empire grew, degenerated the more into plundering incurſions, and could not end but with it's ruin. The marçoman and ſuabian league, which ſeveral nations concluded againſt the romans; the *heerbann*, eſtabliſhed in all the german tribes, even the moſt diſtant, by which every man was obliged to arm in defence of his country, to be a ſoldier; with other inſtitutions; gave the whole nation both the name and conſtitution of *germans*, or *alemanns*, that is, united warriours: rude prototype of a ſyſtem,

ſyſtem, which centuries after was to extend to all the nations of Europe *.

3. *With ſuch a permanent military conſtitution, the germans muſt neceſſarily be deficient in many other virtues, which they not unwillingly ſacrificed to their leading inclination, or principal neceſſity, war.* Agriculture they purſued with no great diligence; and in many tribes a yearly diviſion of their lands precluded that pleaſure, which individuals take in poſſeſſions of their own, and in improving the cultivation of their own fields. Some tribes, particularly the eaſtern, long remained tatarian hunters and herdſmen. The rude idea of common paſtures, and a general poſſeſſion of property, was the favourite notion of theſe nomades, which they carried with them even into the countries and kingdoms they conquered: in conſequence Germany long remained a foreſt, interſperſed with paſtures, marſhes, and moraſſes, where the urus and the elk, the now extirpated animals of the heroic ages of Germany, dwelled with the ancient german heroes. Of ſcience they were ignorant; and the few arts, with which they could

* It would be uſeleſs here to give a full delineation of all the political conſtitutions of the germans, varying at different times, among different people, and in different countries: ſuch as propagated themſelves in the hiſtory of nations will appear in due time. After the numerous illuſtrations of Tacitus, Mœſer has given a deſcription of them, connected with his ſubject, which, as a beautiful whole, appears almoſt an ideal ſyſtem, and yet ſeems to have great truth in particular parts. See Mœſer's *Oſnabrueckiſche Geſchichte*, 'Hiſtory of Oſnabrug,' Vol. I, and his *Patriotiſche Phantaſien*, 'Patriotic Reveries,' in various places.

not diſpenſe, were carried on by the women, and ſlaves for the moſt part ſtolen. To ſuch people it muſt have been a pleaſure, to quit their deſert foreſts, in queſt of finer countries, or to ſerve as mercenaries, whenever prompted by revenge, want, the weariſomeneſs of inaction, ſociety, or any other call. Hence many tribes were in a ſtate of perpetual turmoil, with and againſt one another, either as enemies, or as allies. No people have ſo often ſhifted their quarters as theſe, if we except among them a few tribes of more peaceable ſettlers: and when one tribe moved, it commonly attracted more on it's way, ſo that the troop grew to an army. Many german nations, vandals, ſuevi, and others, derive their names from roaming about, wandering*: thus it was by land, thus by ſea; a life ſufficiently in the tatarian mode.

In the moſt ancient hiſtory of the germans, therefore, it is neceſſary to guard ourſelves againſt any partial attachment to a favourite ſpot for our modern conſtitution: with this the ancient germans had no concern; they followed the courſe of a different ſtream of nations. Weſtward they preſſed on the belgians and gael, till they had ſeated themſelves in the midſt of other tribes: they paſſed eaſtward as far as the Baltic; and when this put a ſtop to their progreſs and their plunder, as it's ſandy coaſts were unable to ſupport them, they naturally turned ſouthward, the firſt opportunity, into countries that had been evacuated. Hence many of

* *Umherſchweifen, wandeln.*

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the nations, that invaded the roman empire, had previouſly dwelt on the ſhores of the Baltic: but theſe were only the more barbarous, whoſe reſidence there was by no means the occaſion of the ſhock, that was given to the power of Rome. This we muſt ſeek at a greater diſtance, in the *aſiatic country of Mungalia*: for there the weſtern huns were preſſed upon by the igurians and other nations; in conſequence they croſſed the Wolga, fell upon the alans on the Don, and the great kingdom of the goths on the Black Sea, and thus many ſouthern german nations, the oſtrogoths and viſigoths, vandals, alans, and ſuevi, were ſet in motion, and the huns followed them. With the ſaxons, franks, and burgundians, the caſe was different; as it was with the heruli, who long ſerved in the roman armies, as heroes that ſold their blood for pay.

We muſt likewiſe take care, not to aſcribe ſimilar manners, or a like degree of civilization, to all theſe people, as appears from the difference of their conduct towards the nations they conquered. The ſavage ſaxons in Britain, the roaming alans and ſuevi in Spain, conducted themſelves not as the oſtrogoths in Italy, or the burgundians in Gaul. The tribes that had long dwelt on the roman frontiers, near their colonies and places of trade, in the weſt or ſouth, were more mild and poliſhed, than thoſe who came from the barren ſeacoaſts, or from the forcſts of the north: hence it would be arrogance, if every horde of germans were to aſcribe to itſelf, for inſtance, the mythology of the ſcandinavian goths. How far did not theſe goths advance?

and

and in how many ways was not this mythology afterwards refined? The brave primitive german, perhaps, can claim nothing but his *Theut* or *Tuiſto*, *Mann*, *Hertha*, and *Wodan*, that is, a father, a hero, the earth, and a general.

Yet we may at leaſt fraternally enjoy that remote treaſure of german mythology, which was preſerved, or collected, at the end of the habitable World, in Iceland, and obviouſly enriched by the legends of the normans and learned chriſtians; I mean, the northern Edda. As a collection of records of the language and ſentiments of a german tribe, it highly deſerves our attention. A compariſon of this northern mythology with that of the greeks may be uſeleſs, or inſtructive, according to the manner in which the examination is conducted: but it would be vain, to expect a Homer or an Oſſian among theſe ſcalds *. Does the Earth produce every where the ſame fruits? and are not the nobleſt productions of this kind the conſequences of an extraordinary condition of the people, and of the times, which had long been ripening? In theſe poems and tales, therefore, let us prize what we find, a peculiar ſpirit of rude, bold poetry, ſtrong, pure, and juſt feelings, with too artificial an employment of the rudiments of our language; and thank each preſerving, each

* The eaſt teems, and ſcatters myriads of images; the north concentrates and expands a ſcanty brood. Oſſian and the Edda are nearer to each other, than either is to Homer: but the ſkald, who conceived the 'Deſcent of Odin,' and 'Thor's conflict with the ſerpent of Midgard,' deſerves a coloſſal nich in the temple of poetry. F.

communi-

communicating hand, that has contributed to the general or better uſe of this national treaſure. Among thoſe, who in ancient or modern times have meritoriouſly contributed to this *, I muſt mention, in our own days, with reſpect and gratitude the name of Suhm, to whom the hiſtory of mankind is much indebted. He has cauſed this beautiful northern light, to ſhine over us from Iceland with new ſplendour: he and others have endeavoured, to introduce it into the ſphere of our knowledge, and point out it's true uſe. It is to be regretted, that we germans have little of the ancient treaſures of our language to diſplay †: the poems of our bards are loſt; the venerable oak of our heroic language exhibits few bloſſoms, that are not of very modern date.

When the german nations had embraced chriſtianity, they fought for it, as for their kings and nobility; and this genuine loyalty of the ſword was amply experienced by the alemanns, thuringians, bavarians, and ſaxons, by the poor ſlavians, pruſſians, courlanders, livonians, and eſthonians, as well as by their own tribes. To their fame likewiſe it muſt be ſaid, that they ſtood as a living wall againſt the irruptions of later barbarians, and repelled the mad rage of huns, hungarians, mungals,

* Sæmund, Snorro, Reſenius, Worm, Torfæus, Stephanius, Bartholin, Keiſler, Ihre, Gæranſon, Thorkelin, Erichſen, the Magnuſes, Ancherſen, Eggers, &c.

† All our riches, except a very little ſcattered up and down in different places, are collected in Schilter's *Theſaurus*, and they are far from conſiderable.

and

and turks. By them, too, the greater part of Europe was not only conquered, planted, and modelled, but covered and protected; otherwiſe it could never have produced what has appeared in it. Their rank among other nations, their military league, and their native character, have been the foundation of the civilization, freedom, and ſecurity of Europe: whether their political ſituation were not a joint cauſe of the ſlow progreſs of this civilization, hiſtory, an impartial evidence, will prove.

CHAPTER IV.

Slavian Nations.

THE figure made by the ſlavian nations in hiſtory is far from proportionate to the extent of country they occupied; one reaſon of which, among others, is, that they dwelt ſo remote from the romans. We firſt diſcern them on the Don, among the goths; afterwards, on the Danube, amid the huns and bulgarians; with whom they frequently diſturbed the roman empire, though chiefly as aſſociates, auxiliaries, or vaſſals. Notwithſtanding their occaſional achievements, they were never enterprizing warriours or adventurers, like the germans: theſe they for the moſt part followed quietly, occupying the places they evacuated, till at length they were in poſſeſſion of the vaſt territory extending from the Don to the Elbe, and from the Adriatic Sea to the Baltic. On this ſide the Carpathian mountains their ſettlements extended from Lunenburg over Mecklen-

Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony, Luſatia, Bohemia, Moravia, Sileſia, Poland, and Ruſſia: beyond them, where at an early period they had ſettled in Wallachia and Moldavia, they were continually ſpreading farther and farther, aſſiſted by various circumſtances, till the emperor Heraclius admitted them into Dalmatia, and the kingdoms of Sclavonia, Boſnia, Servia, and Dalmatia, were founded by them. In Pannonia they were equally numerous; they poſſeſſed all the ſoutheaſtern angle of Germany from Friuli, ſo that their domains terminated with Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola: an immenſe region, the european part of which is even now inhabited chiefly by one nation.

Every where they ſettled on lands, that others had relinquiſhed, cultivating or enjoying them as coloniſts, huſbandmen, or ſhepherds: ſo that their noiſeleſs induſtry was of infinite advantage to countries, from which other nations had migrated, or which they had paſſed over and plundered. They were fond of agriculture, ſtores of corn and cattle, and various domeſtic arts; and every where opened a beneficial trade with the produce of their land and their induſtry. Along the Baltic, from Lubec, they built ſeaport towns, among which Vineta, in the iſland of Rugen, was the Amſterdam of the ſlavians: thus they maintained an intercourſe with the pruſſians, courlanders, and lettonians, as the language of theſe people ſhows. On the Dnieper they built Kiow; on the Wolcoff, Novogorod; which ſoon became flouriſhing commercial towns, uniting the Black Sea with the Baltic, and convey-

ing

ing the productions of Aſia to the north and weſt of Europe. In Germany they followed the working of mines, underſtood the ſmelting and caſting of metals, manufactured ſalt, fabricated linen, brewed mead, planted fruit trees, and led, after their faſhion, a gay and muſical life. They were liberal, hoſpitable to exceſs, lovers of paſtoral freedom, but ſubmiſſive and obedient, enemies to ſpoil and rapine. All this preſerved them not from oppreſſion: nay it contributed to their being oppreſſed. For, as they were never ambitious of ſovereignty, had among them no hereditary princes addicted to war, and thought little of paying tribute, ſo they could but enjoy their lands in peace; many nations, chiefly of german origin, injurioufly oppreſſed them.

Already under Charlemagne were carried on thoſe oppreſſive wars, the object of which was evidently commercial advantages, though the chriſtian religion was their pretext: as it was unqueſtionably very commodious for the heroic franks, to treat an induſtrious nation, addicted to trade and agriculture, as vaſſals, inſtead of learning and purſuing theſe arts themſelves. What the franks began, the ſaxons completed: in whole provinces the ſlavians were extirpated, or made bondſmen, and their lands divided among biſhops and nobles. Northern germans ruined their commerce on the Baltic; the danes brought their Vineta to a melancholy end; and their remains in Germany were reduced to that ſtate, to which the peruvians were ſubjected by the ſpaniards. Is it to be wondered, that, after this nation had born the yoke for centuries, and

cheriſhed

cheriſhed the bittereſt animoſity againſt their chriſtian lords and robbers, it's gentle character ſhould have ſunk into the artful, cruel indolence of a ſlave? Yet ſtill, particularly in lands where they enjoy any degree of freedom, their ancient ſtamp is univerſally perceptible. It was unfortunate for theſe people, that their love of quiet and domeſtic induſtry was incompatible with any permanent military eſtabliſhment, though they were not defective in valour in the heat of reſiſtance: unfortunate, that their ſituation brought them ſo near to the germans on the one ſide, and on the other left them expoſed to the attacks of the tatars from the eaſt, from whom, particularly from the mungals, they had much to ſuffer, and much they patiently bore.

The wheel of changing Time, however, revolves without ceaſing; and as theſe nations inhabit for the moſt part the fineſt country of Europe, if it were completely cultivated, and it's trade opened; while it cannot be ſuppoſed, but that legiſlation and politics, inſtead of a military ſpirit, muſt and will more and more promote quiet induſtry, and peaceful commerce between different ſtates; theſe now deeply ſunk, but once induſtrious and happy people, will at length awake from their long and heavy ſlumber, ſhake off the chains of ſlavery, enjoy the poſſeſſion of their delightful lands from the Adriatic ſea to the Carpathian mountains, from the Don to the Muldaw, and celebrate on them their ancient feſtivals of peaceful trade and induſtry.

As we have elegant and uſeful materials for the hiſtory

hiſtory of theſe people, from different regions*, it is to be wiſhed, that their deficiencies were ſupplied from others; the continually decaying remains of their cuſtoms, ſongs, and traditions, collected; and ſuch a general hiſtory of this race ultimately completed, as the picture of mankind requires.

CHAPTER V.

Foreign Nations in Europe.

ALL the nations, that we have hitherto noticed, the hungarians alone excepted, may be conſidered as ancient aborigines of Europe, who have reſided in it from time immemorial. For though they may have dwelt in Aſia, as the affinity of ſeveral languages leads us to conjecture, to inquire into this, and the way they took from Noah's ark, would carry us beyond the limits of our hiſtory.

But beſide theſe we find ſeveral foreign nations, that have formerly appeared on the ſtage of Europe, to it's advantage or detriment, or ſtill appear on it.

Such were the huns, who, under Attila, traverſed, conquered, and ravaged a great extent of country; a people, according to all probability, and the deſcription given by Ammian, of mungal origin. Had the great Attila, inſtead of ſuffering himſelf to be prevailed on by entreaty, to withdraw from

* See Friſch, Popowitſch, Mueller, Jordan, Taube, Fortis, Sulzer, Roſſignoli, Dobrowſki, Stritter, Gerken, Mœhſen, Anton, Dobner, Voigt, Pelzel, &c.

Rome,

Rome, made the metropolis of the World the ſeat of his empire; what a fearful change would it have occaſioned in the whole hiſtory of Europe! But happily his defeated people retired to their mountains, and left behind them no *calmuc holy roman empire.*

After the huns, the bulgarians once acted a tremendous part in the eaſt of Europe, till, like the hungarians, they were ſubdued to the reception of chriſtianity, and at length ſwallowed up in the language of the ſlavians. The new kingdom, likewiſe, which they founded with the wallachians from mount Hæmus, fell to pieces: they were melted down in the great mixed maſs of nations of the daci-illyrico-thracian region; and now only a ſingle province of the turkiſh empire bears their name, without any diſtinguiſhing marks of national character.

We ſhall paſs over many others, chazars, avars, petſchenegrins, &c., who gave much trouble to the eaſtern roman empire, as well as in part to the weſtern, the goths, the ſlavians, and other nations; but at length, without any laſting eſtabliſhment of their name, either returned to Aſia, or were loſt by mixing in the general maſs.

Still leſs need we concern ourſelves with thoſe remains of the ancient illyrians, thracians, and macedonians, the albanians, wallachians, and arnauts. Theſe were not ſtrangers, but of an ancient european race: once they were leading nations, now they are a confuſed jumble of the remains of various people and languages.

Thoſe ſecond huns, too, that ravaged Europe under Gengis-khan and his ſucceſſors, are altogether foreign to our purpoſe. The firſt conqueror preſſed forwards as far as the Dnieper without ſtopping; then ſuddenly changed his intentions, and returned. His ſucceſſor advanced even into Germany with fire and ſword, but was driven back. The grandſon of Gengis-khan ſubjugated Ruſſia, which remained tributary to the mungals for a century and half: but at length it threw off the yoke, and maſtered theſe people in it's turn. More than once theſe ravenous wolves of the aſiatic heights, the mungals, have ravaged the World; but they never accompliſhed the transformation of Europe into their deſerts. This indeed they never ſought: plunder was their only object.

We have therefore to ſpeak only of thoſe people, who have reſided in our quarter of the Globe a more or leſs conſiderable ſpace of time, poſſeſſing territories in it, and dwelling among the other nations. Theſe are

1. The *arabs*. As the eaſtern empire received it's firſt grand ſhock in three quarters of the Globe from theſe people; and as they poſſeſſed Spain in part for ſeven hundred and ſeventy years, beſide ruling wholly, or partly, in Sicily, Sardinia, Corſica, and Naples, moſt of which were taken from them piecemeal; they every where left traces behind them, in language and ſentiments, diſpoſitions and inſtitutions, which are in part not yet obliterated, in part have conſiderably influenced the genius of their former neighbours, and thoſe among whom they dwelt.

dwelt. In many places they lighted the torch of ſcience for Europe, then barbarous, which reaped no ſmall advantage likewiſe from it's acquaintance with their oriental brethren by means of the croiſades. And beſides, as many of them embraced chriſtianity in the countries where they were ſettled, they thus became denizens of Europe, in Spain, Sicily, and other parts.

2. The *turks*, a people from Turkiſtan, notwithſtanding they have reſided in Europe for more than three centuries, are ſtill ſtrangers in it. They put an end to the eaſtern empire, which had been a burden to itſelf and to the World for above a thouſand years; and thus unintentionally and unconſciouſly drove the arts weſtward into Europe. By their attacks on the european powers they have kept their valour alert for ſome centuries, and thus preſerved them from falling under any foreign dominion: a ſlight compenſation for the incomparably greater evil of having reduced the fineſt lands of Europe to a deſert, and the once moſt ingenious greeks to faithleſs ſlaves, to diſſolute barbarians. How many works of art have theſe ignorant people deſtroyed! how much have they diſſipated, that can never be reſtored! Their empire is one vaſt priſon for all the europeans that dwell in it; but it will fall, when it's time arrives: for what have foreigners to do in Europe, who, after the lapſe of a thouſand years, are ſtill reſolute to remain aſiatic barbarians?

3. The *jews* we ſhall conſider here only as paraſitical plants, having fixed themſelves on almoſt all

the nations of Europe, and ſucked more or leſs of their juices. After the downfal of ancient Rome, there were yet comparatively few of them in Europe; but from the perſecution of the arabs they fled thither in great multitudes, and divided themſelves nationally. That the leproſy was brought into Europe by them is improbable: but it was a ſtill worſe ſcab, that in all barbarous ages they were the baſe implements of uſury, as bankers, brokers, and ſervants of the empire, and thus hardened the proud barbarian ignorance of the europeans in trade againſt their own profit. They were often treated with great cruelty; and what they had acquired by avarice and deceit, or by induſtry, prudence, and order, was tyrannically extorted from them: but being accuſtomed to ſuch treatment, and forced to reckon upon it, they carried their artifice and extortion to greater lengths. Still to many countries they were indiſpenſable at that time, and are even now: it cannot be denied, likewiſe, that by them hebrew literature was preſerved; by them the ſciences acquired from the arabs, phyſic and philoſophy, were propagated in the dark ages; and much other good was performed, for which no one but a jew was adapted. A time will come, when no perſon in Europe will inquire whether a man be a jew or a chriſtian; as the jews will equally live according to european laws, and contribute to the welfare of the ſtate. Nothing but a barbarous conſtitution could have been ſuch an obſtacle as to have prevented this, or rendered their abilities injurious.

4. I paſs over the *armenians*, whom I conſider only

only as travellers in our quarter of the Globe: but then I perceive a numerous, foreign, heathen, ſubterranean people, the *gipſies*, in almoſt all the countries of Europe. Whence came they? How did the ſeven or eight hundred thouſand perſons, at which they are eſtimated by their lateſt hiſtoriographers *, come hither? A reprobated indian caſt, removed by birth from every thing they eſteem divine, honourable, and becoming a citizen, and ſtill remaining true to this degrading deſtination after the lapſe of ages, for what in Europe are they fit, except for military diſcipline, the moſt ſpeedy changer of manners?

CHAPTER VI.

General Reflections and Deductions.

SUCH appears the picture of the people of Europe; a particoloured compoſition, that would appear ſtill more confuſed, were we only to continue through the times, with which we are acquainted. It was not ſo in Japan, China, or Hindoſtan: it is ſo in no country ſhut up from others by it's ſituation or conſtitution. And yet has Europe no great ſea beyond the Alps, ſo that it might be ſuppoſed nations could here ſtand ſide by ſide as walls? A ſlight view of the ſituation and nature of this quarter of the Globe, with the character and circum-

* Grellman's *Hiſtor. Verſuch ueber die Zigeuner*, 'Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Gipſies,' 87. Ruediger's *Zuwachs zur Sprachenkunde*, 'Addition to Philology,' 82.

ſtances of it's nations, will lead us to other concluſions.

1. Eaſtwards, on the right hand, obſerve that *vaſt elevated region, aſiatic Tatary*; and in reading of the troubles that threw Europe into confuſion in the middle ages, exclaim with Triſtram Shandy, 'this was the ſource of all our misfortunes.' I will not venture to inquire, whether all the northern europeans dwelt there, and for how long a time: for once the whole north of Europe was no better than Siberia and Mungalia, the cradle of erratic hordes: in each, indolent migration, and the khan mode of government under tatarian lords, was hereditary, and indigenous to the wandering people. As, beſide this, Europe beyond the Alps is evidently an *inclined plane*, extending from theſe populous tatarian heights weſtward to the ſea, on which, when one barbarian horde was preſſed upon by another, it muſt deſcend toward the weſt, and drive others before it, Europe was long kept in a tatarian ſtate geographically. Such for more than a thouſand years is the unpleaſing aſpect preſented by the hiſtory of Europe, in which kingdoms and nations were never at quiet, either from having acquired the habit of wandering, or from being preſſed upon by others. As it is undeniable, that, in the ancient World, the great mountains of Aſia, with their continuation in Europe, produced a wonderful difference of climate and character between the northern and ſouthern parts of the Globe, let us, who are on the north of the Alps, conſole ourſelves with the reflection, that both in manners and inſtitutions we belong

belong not to the original aſiatic Tatary, but to it's european continuation.

2. Europe, particularly in compariſon with the north of Aſia, is *a temperate country, abounding with rivers, coaſts, promontories, and bays:* and this alone was ſufficient to render the deſtiny of it's nations advantageouſly diſtinguiſhed from that of their aſiatic neighbours. On the Sea of Aſoph and the Euxine they were near the grecian colonies, and the moſt flouriſhing commerce of thoſe days: all the nations, that founded kingdoms or tarried here, became acquainted with many others, and indeed acquired a certain degree of familiarity with the arts and ſciences. But the Baltic was ſtill more particularly to the north of Europe, what the Mediterranean was to the ſouth. The coaſts of Pruſſia were already known to the greeks and romans by the trade in amber: none of the nations that ſettled on them, whatever their deſcent, remained wholly ſtrangers to commerce; a commerce, which ſoon united itſelf with that of the Euxine, and even extended to the White Sea; in conſequence a ſort of common intercourſe took place between the ſouth of Aſia and the eaſt of Europe, and between the northern parts of Europe and of Aſia, in which even nations that were far from civilized had a ſhare *. The coaſts of Scandinavia and the North Sea ſoon ſwarmed with merchants, pirates, voyagers,

* Some very uſeful information on this ſubject is collected in Fiſcher's *Geſchichte des Deutſchen Handels*, 'Hiſtory of the Commerce of Germany,' Vol. I.

and adventurers, who launched out on every ſea, attempted the coaſts and countries of all Europe, and performed aſtoniſhing exploits. The belgæ united Gaul and Britain; and the Mediterranean was not ſafe from the expeditions of northern barbarians: they made pilgrimages to Rome; they traded to Conſtantinople, and ſerved in it's armies.

From all theſe circumſtances, with the long continued migrations by land, at length aroſe in this ſmall portion of the Globe a diſpoſition to a grand *union of nations*, which the romans had already undeſignedly prepared by their conqueſts, and which in any other place could not eaſily have been brought to bear. In no one quarter of the Globe have nations been ſo intermingled as in Europe; in no one have they ſo often and ſo completely changed their abodes, and with them their way of life and manners. In many countries it would now be difficult for the inhabitants in general, leaving individuals out of the queſtion, to ſay of what race, of what nation they are; whether they be deſcended from goths, moors, jews, carthaginians, or romans; whether from gael, cimbri, burgundians, franks, normans, ſaxons, ſlavians, fins, or illyrians; and what intermixture of blood took place among their anceſtors. In the courſe of ages the ancient family ſtamp of many european nations has been ſoftened down and altered by a hundred cauſes, and without this the *general ſpirit* of Europe could not eaſily have been excited.

3. *That we now find the moſt ancient inhabitants of*

this quarter of the Globe only on the mountains, or driven into it's extreme coaſts and corners, is a natural occurrence, of which inſtances may be found in every part of the World, even in the aſiatic iſlands. In many of theſe the mountains are inhabited by a peculiar race, commonly leſs civilized, who were probably the ancient inhabitants of the land obliged to retire before younger and bolder ſtrangers. How could it be otherwiſe in Europe, where nations preſſed upon and drove out one another more than in any place? The ſeries of them, however, may be traced up to a few principal names; and, what is ſingular, we find in very different regions the ſame people, who appear to have followed one another, for the moſt part near together. Thus the cimbri followed the gael; the germans, both; the ſlavians, the germans; and occupied their lands. As the ſtrata of our Earth follow in regular ſucceſſion, ſo do the nations in our quarter of the Globe; often, indeed, turned upſide down, yet ſtill diſtinguiſhable in their primitive ſituation. The inquirers into their languages and manners muſt make the beſt uſe of their time, while they are ſtill to be diſtinguiſhed; for every thing in Europe tends to a gradual extinction of national character. The hiſtorian of mankind, however, muſt take care, that he chooſes no tribe excluſively as his favourite, and exalt it at the expenſe of others, whoſe ſituation and circumſtances denied them fame and fortune. The germans have derived information even from the ſlavians: the cimbri and lettonians might probably have become greeks, had they been differently ſeated with reſpect to ſurrounding

rounding nations. We may rejoice, that people of ſuch a ſtrong, handſome, and noble form, chaſte manners, generoſity, and probity, as the germans, poſſeſſed the roman world, inſtead perhaps of huns or bulgarians: but on this account to eſteem them God's choſen people in Europe, to whom the World belongs in right of their innate nobility, and to whom other nations were deſtined to be ſubſervient in conſequence of this preeminence, would be to diſplay the baſe pride of a barbarian. The barbarian lords it over thoſe whom he has vanquiſhed: the poliſhed conqueror civilizes thoſe whom he ſubdues.

4. *No nation of Europe has raiſed itſelf to a poliſhed ſtate:* each has endeavoured rather to retain it's ancient barbarous manners, as long as it poſſibly could; to which it's raw, unprolific climate, and the neceſſity of a rude military conſtitution, greatly contributed. No nation of Europe, for example, has letters of it's own, or invented them for itſelf: from the ſpaniſh to the runic of the north, all are derived from the alphabets of other nations: all the cultivation of the eaſt, weſt, and north of Europe, is a plant ſprung from roman, greek, and arabic ſeed. It was long ere this plant could thrive on the rugged ſoil, and produce fruit of it's own; at firſt ſufficiently ſour: and for this a ſingular inſtrument was neceſſary, *a foreign religion*; that *a ſpiritual conqueſt* might complete, what the romans were unable to accompliſh by their arms. Thus above all things we have to conſider this new inſtrument of civilization, which had no inferiour aim to that of moulding

ing all nations into one happy people, both in this World, and in the next, and which operated no where ſo powerfully as in Europe.

Behold the glorious ſtandard raiſed on high,
To which for hope and comfort mortals fly;
Myriads of ſouls to it allegiance vow,
Myriads of ſuppliant knees before it bow:
Secure of future life it's votary braves
The fear of death; in victory's plume it waves:
Aweſtruck the ſavage warrior trembling ſtands;
He ſees the *croſs*, and drops his weaponed hands.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XVII.

SEVENTY years before the diſſolution of the jewiſh ſtate, a man was born in it, by whom an unexpected revolution was brought about in the ſentiments of men, as well as in their manners and inſtitutions. This man, who was named *Jeſus*, born in poverty, though deſcended from the ancient royal lineage, dwelling in the rudeſt part of the country, and educated remote from the learning and wiſdom of his nation, now deeply declined, lived unnoticed the greater part of his ſhort life, till, conſecrated by a celeſtial appearance at the Jordan, he took to himſelf twelve men of his own condition as diſciples, travelled with them through a part of Judea, and ſoon after ſent them round to announce the approach of a new kingdom. The kingdom, that he announced, he ſtyled the kingdom of God, a heavenly kingdom, in which only choſen men could participate, and for the obtaining of which he propoſed not external duties and ceremonies, but pure mental and ſpiritual virtues. The *moſt genuine humanity* is contained in the few diſcourſes of his, that are preſerved: humanity he diſplayed in his life,

life, and confirmed by his death: and the favourite name, by which he choſe to diſtinguiſh himſelf, was that of *the ſon of man.* That he ſhould have many followers among his countrymen, particularly of the poor and oppreſſed; and that he ſhould ſoon be removed out of the way by thoſe, who under the cloak of ſanctity oppreſſed the people, ſo that we ſcarcely know with preciſion the time of his appearance; were the natural conſequences of his ſituation.

But what was this *kingdom of Heaven*, the approach of which Jeſus announced, urged others to deſire, and ſtrove himſelf to eſtabliſh? That it was no worldly ſovereignty, is proved by every thing he ſaid and did, to the laſt unequivocal confeſſion he made before his judges. As a ſpiritual deliverer of his race, he ſought to form *children of God*, who, under whatever laws they lived, ſhould promote the welfare of others from the pureſt principles; and, patient under ſufferings, reign in ſpite of them as kings in the realm of truth and goodneſs. It is ſelfevident, that ſuch a purpoſe alone could be conſiſtent with the intention of Providence in regard to mankind; a purpoſe, in the promotion of which all the wiſe and good upon Earth muſt cooperate, in proportion to the purity of their thoughts and endeavours; for what can man propoſe as the ſtandard of his earthly perfection and happineſs, but this univerſally operating, pure humanity?

With reverence I bend before thy noble form, thou head and founder of a kingdom, ſo great in it's object, ſo durable in it's extent, ſo ſimple and animated

mated in it's principles, ſo efficacious in it's motives, that the ſphere of this terreſtrial life appears too narrow for it. No where in hiſtory find I a revolution ſo quietly effected in ſo ſhort a time, planted in ſuch a ſingular manner by feeble inſtruments, propagated over all the Earth with yet indeterminable effect, and cultivated ſo as to produce good or bad fruit, as that, which has ſpread among nations under the name, not properly of *thy religion*, that is to ſay, of thy vital ſcheme for the welfare of mankind, but moſtly of *thy worſhip*, that is, an unreflecting adoration of thy croſs and perſon. Thy penetrating mind foreſaw this; and it is diſhonouring thy name, to affix it to every turbid ſtream from thy pure fountain. We will avoid it as much as poſſible: thy placid form ſhall ſtand alone before the whole hiſtory, that takes it's riſe from thee.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of Chriſtianity, with the fundamental Principles it included.

SINGULAR as it appears, that a revolution affecting more than one quarter of the Globe ſhould originate from a country ſo deſpiſed as Judea, hiſtorical grounds for it may be diſcovered on a cloſer inſpection. The revolution, of which we ſpeak, was intellectual; and however contemptible the jews may have been deemed by the greeks and romans, they had

had this to boaſt, that, before any other nation of Aſia or of Europe, they poſſeſſed writings of ancient date, on which their conſtitution was founded, and which, in conſequence of this conſtitution, muſt promote the cultivation of a particular kind of ſcience and literature. Neither greeks nor romans could lay claim to ſuch a code of religious and political inſtitutions, which, interwoven with ancient ſcriptural family records, was confided to the care of a particular and numerous tribe, and preſerved by it with ſuperſtitious reverence.

In courſe of time a kind of refined ſenſe naturally grew out of this antiquated letter, which was promoted by the repeated diſperſion of the jews among other nations. In the canon of their ſacred writings were intermixed poems, moral maxims, and ſublime orations; that, written at various times, and on very different occaſions, grew into a collection, which was ſoon conſidered as one continued ſyſtem, and out of which one leading ſenſe was drawn. The prophets of this nation, who, as the appointed guardians of the law of the land, had exhibited to the people a picture of what they ought to be, and were not, each according to his peculiar way of thinking, at one time teaching and exhorting, at another warning or conſoling, but always with patriotic hope, had left poſterity, in theſe fruits of their heads and hearts, many ſeeds of new ideas, which every man might cultivate after his own manner. From all theſe was gradually formed a ſyſtematic expectation of a king, who ſhould deliver his fallen, obedient people; bring them golden days, ſuch as they had never

never known under the greateſt of their ancient ſovereigns; and begin a new order of things. Conformably to the language of the prophets, theſe views were theocratic: with the collected characters of a meſſiah they were moulded into a lively image, and conſidered as the certain prerogative of the nation. In Paleſtine the increaſing miſery of the people made them hold faſt this idea: in other countries, in Egypt for example, where many jews had reſided ſince the diſſolution of the monarchy of Alexander, theſe notions acquired more of a grecian form; apocryphal books, which exhibited theſe prophecies in a new ſhape, were circulated; and the time was now arrived, when theſe dreams, having attained their acme, muſt come to a concluſion. From the people a man aroſe, whoſe mind, exalted above all earthly chimeras, united all the hopes, wiſhes, and predictions of the prophets in the deſign of an ideal kingdom, which ſhould be nothing leſs than an iſraelitiſh kingdom of Heaven. In this lofty plan he foreſaw the approaching downfal of his nation; and denounced a ſpeedy and lamentable end to their ſplendid temple, and to their worſhip, now completely converted into ſuperſtition. The kingdom of God was to be extended to all nations; and the people, who deemed it excluſively their own, were conſidered by him as a lifeleſs corſe.

What comprehenſive force of mind muſt have been requiſite, to diſcern and announce any thing of the kind at that time in Judea, is evident from the unfriendly reception given to this doctrine by the chief perſons and learned men among the jews: it

it was looked upon as a rebellion againſt Moſes, and againſt God; as treaſon to the nation, whoſe common hopes it unpatriotically deſtroyed. Even to the apoſtles the exjudaiſm of chriſtianity was a doctrine above all others difficult to ſwallow: and the moſt learned of them, Paul, found all the ſubtleties of jewiſh logic neceſſary, to render it comprehenſible to the chriſtian jews, even out of Judea. It was well, that Providence itſelf gave the firſt ſtroke, and that with the deſtruction of Jeruſalem the ancient walls were thrown down, which with unyielding ſtubbornneſs ſeparated God's choſen people, as they called themſelves, from all others upon Earth. The time of a peculiar national worſhip, teeming with pride and ſuperſtition, was now over: for neceſſary as ſuch inſtitutions might have been in former days, when every nation, educated in a narrow family circle, ripened as a bunch of grapes on it's own ſtalk, all human exertions in this part of the World had now tended for ſome centuries, to unite nations, by means of war, commerce, arts, ſcience, and familiar intercourſe, and preſs from the fruit of all one common liquor. The prejudices of national religion ſtood chiefly in the way of this union: and as, while the romans exerciſed a general ſpirit of toleration throughout their extenſive empire, and the eclectic philoſophy, that ſingular compound of all ſchools and ſects, was univerſally diffuſed, a *popular* faith now aroſe, which made of all nations one people, and proceeded immediately from the moſt obſtinate, which had hitherto eſteemed itſelf preeminently diſtinguiſhed from all others; this was at any rate a

great and perilous ſtep in the hiſtory of mankind, in whatever manner it was undertaken. It made all people brethren, in leading them to the knowledge of one God and ſaviour: but it was capable of rendering them ſlaves, if this religion were impoſed upon them as a yoke. The keys of the kingdom of Heaven, both in this world and the next, might introduce phariſeiſm as dangerous, when in the hands of other nations, as ever they did in the hands of the jews.

The ſpeedy and firm eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity was principally promoted by a belief, which originated from it's founder himſelf: this was the opinion of *his early return, and the revelation of his kingdom upon Earth.* This belief Jeſus avowed before his judge, and frequently repeated in the laſt days of his life: his followers adhered to it, and expected the appearance of his kingdom. The ſpiritually minded chriſtian conceived therein the idea of a ſpiritual kingdom; the carnally minded, of a temporal ſovereignty: and as the overſtretched imaginations of thoſe times and countries were not over-rational in their reveries, jewiſh chriſtian apocalypſes aroſe, teeming with various prophecies, ſigns, and dreams. Antichriſt was firſt to be deſtroyed; and on the delay of Chriſt's return, this man of ſin was firſt to be revealed, then to increaſe, and grow up to the utmoſt height in his abominations, till the ſaviour ſhould come again, and reſuſcitate his people.

It cannot be denied, but that ſuch expectations muſt have occaſioned many perſecutions of the early chriſtians;

chriſtians; for Rome, the miſtreſs of the World; could not be indifferent to the propagation of ſuch opinions, announcing it's approaching overthrow, and repreſenting it as an antichriſtian object of horrour or contempt. Thus ſuch prophets were ſoon conſidered as unpatriotic deſpiſers of their country and the World, nay, as men notoriouſly guilty of a general hatred to mankind; and many a one, impatient of his ſaviour's return, ran to meet martyrdom. It is certain, however, that this hope of a kingdom of Chriſt nigh at hand, in Heaven, or on Earth, powerfully united the minds of men, and detached them from the World. This they deſpiſed as ſunk in miſery; while they beheld every where around them, what they believed ſo near. Hence they acquired courage, to riſe above the ſpirit of the times, the power of perſecutors, the mockery of the incredulous; which otherwiſe no one could have ſurmounted: they ſojourned here as paſſengers, whoſe reſidence was where their leader was gone before them, and whence he was ſoon to be revealed.

Beſide the leading points of hiſtory that have been mentioned, it appears not unneceſſary, to mark ſome of inferiour magnitude, that contributed greatly to the ſtructure of chriſtianity.

1. The *benevolent ſentiments of Chriſt* had made fraternal concord and placability, active aſſiſtance to the poor and needy, in ſhort every duty of man, the common tie of his followers, ſo that, conformably to this, chriſtianity could not be other than *a genuine bond of friendſhip and brotherly love.* There can be no doubt, that this inſtrument of hu-

manity contributed much at all times, and particularly in the beginning, to it's reception and extenſion. The poor and needy, the oppreſſed, the bondſman and the ſlave, the publican and the ſinner, embraced it; and in conſequence the firſt chriſtian communities were termed aſſemblies of beggars by the heathen. Now as the new religion was neither capable nor deſirous of removing the diſtinction of ranks, that then exiſted in the World, nothing was left for it but minds poſſeſſed of chriſtian meekneſs, with all the weeds that would ſpring up at the ſame time on this good ground. Rich widows ſoon attracted a number of beggars by their gifts, who occaſionally diſturbed the peace of whole communities. Alms could not fail to be eſteemed on one ſide as the true treaſures of the kingdom of Heaven, and to be ſought on the other: in both caſes, not only that noble pride, the offspring of independent merit and uſeful induſtry, but often impartiality and truth, yielded to baſe flattery. The almſcheſts of communities became the common property of martyrs: gifts to the community were exalted to the title of the ſpirit of chriſtianity, while it's morals were corrupted by the exaggerated praiſe beſtowed on ſuch acts. Though the neceſſity of the times may excuſe much of this, it is nevertheleſs certain, that, if human ſociety be conſidered as one large hoſpital, and chriſtianity it's common almſbox, a depraved ſtate of morals and politics muſt neceſſarily enſue.

2. *Chriſtianity was to be a community governed by elders and teachers without any worldly authority.* Theſe

Theſe were to guide the flock as ſhepherds, decide their differences, correct their faults with zeal and affection, and lead them to Heaven by their counſel, their influence, their precepts, and their example. A noble office, when worthily executed, and not prevented by circumſtances from being fulfilled: for it blunts the fangs of the law, extracts the thorns from claims and conteſts, and unites the divine, the father, and the judge. But how was it, when, in courſe of time, the ſhepherds treated their human flocks as actual ſheep, or led them as beaſts of burden to browze on thiſtles? how, when wolves, legally called, came among the flocks inſtead of ſhepherds? Childiſh obedience then ſoon became a chriſtian virtue: it became a chriſtian virtue, for a man to renounce the uſe of his reaſon, and to follow the authority of another's opinion inſtead of his own conviction, while the biſhop, inſtead of an apoſtle, was meſſenger, witneſs, teacher, expounder, judge, and arbiter. Nothing now was prized ſo highly as faith, as quietly following the leader: the man, who ventured to have an opinion of his own, was an obſtinate heretic, and excluded from the kingdom of God and the church. Biſhops and their ſubalterns, in defiance of the doctrines of Chriſt, interfered in family diſputes and civil affairs; and ſoon they quarrelled among each other, which ſhould rule the reſt. Hence the conteſts for the chief epiſcopal ſees, and the gradual extenſion of their rights: hence the endleſs diſpute, between the ſceptre and the croſier, between the right arm and the left, between the

crown and the mitre. Certain as it is, that, in times of tyranny, juſt and pious judges were indiſpenſable aids to men, who had the misfortune to live without political inſtitutions; ſcarcely any thing more ſcandalous can be conceived, than the long diſpute between the ſpiritual arm and the temporal, which kept Europe in perpetual confuſion for more than a thouſand years. In this place the ſalt was inſipid, in that it was too pungent.

3. *Chriſtianity had a certain formulary, of which thoſe who were initiated into it by baptiſm made profeſſion*: and ſimple as this formulary was, more diſturbances, perſecutions, and bitterneſs, aroſe in courſe of time from the harmleſs expreſſions, *Father*, *Son*, and *Spirit*, than from any other three words in human language. The farther men departed from the principles of chriſtianity, conſidered as an active inſtitution, founded for the good of mankind; the more men ſpeculated beyond the limits of human reaſon. Myſteries were diſcovered; and at length the whole of the chriſtian doctrine was converted into myſtery. After the books of the New Teſtament were introduced into the church as a canon, things were demonſtrated from them, and indeed from books of the jewiſh conſtitution, books which few could read in the original, and of which the primitive ſignification had long been loſt, that from them are not to be proved. Hence ſyſtems and hereſies multiplied, to ſtifle which the worſt of all means were choſen, *eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies and ſynods*. How many of theſe are the diſgrace of chriſtianity, and of common

ſenſe!

ſenſe! Pride and Intolerance called them together; Diſcord, Party Spirit, Groſſneſs, and Knavery, ſwayed them: and at length Force, Arbitrary Power, Inſolence, Pimping, Deceit, or Accident, decided, under the name of the Holy Spirit, for the whole church, nay for time and eternity. In a ſhort time, none were found ſo competent to determine articles of faith as the chriſtianized emperors, to whom Conſtantine had bequeathed the innate hereditary right, to enjoin creeds and canons concerning Father, Son, and Spirit, concerning ομοουσιος and ομοιουσιος, the ſingle or double nature of Chriſt, Mary the mother of God, and the created or uncreated glory, that appeared at Chriſt's baptiſm. Theſe pretenſions, with the conſequences that enſued from them, will remain an eternal diſgrace to the byzantine throne, and to every throne, by which it was imitated; for with their ignorant power they ſupported and perpetuated perſecutions, ſchiſms, and diſturbances, which improved neither the ſpirit nor the morality of men, but tended to undermine the church, the ſtate, and the thrones themſelves. The hiſtory of the firſt chriſtian empire, that of Conſtantinople, is ſuch a melancholy exhibition of baſe treachery, and horrible cruelty, that, to the moment of it's deplorable end, it ſtands a warning monument to all polemic chriſtian governments.

4. *Chriſtianity had it's ſacred writings, which ſprung in part from occaſional epiſtles, and in part, with few exceptions, from oral communications*; theſe in time were made the ſtandard of faith, ſoon became

the banner of every contending party, and were abuſed in every way, that want of ſenſe could dictate. Each party either proved from them what it wiſhed to prove; or men heſitated not to mutilate them, and to forge with unbluſhing effrontery falſe goſpels, epiſtles, and revelations, in the name of the apoſtles. *Pious fraud*, in ſuch things more deteſtable than perjury, as it lies to a whole ſeries of ages and generations without end, was ſoon reckoned no ſin, but a meritorious act for the honour of God, and the ſalvation of ſouls. Hence the many ſpurious writings of the apoſtles and fathers of the church: hence the numerous fictions of miracles, martyrs, donations, conſtitutions, and decretals, the uncertainty of which ſteals through all the early and middle ages of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, almoſt down to the reformation, like a thief in the night. When once the corrupt principle was admitted, that a man might deal treacherouſly, invent lies, and write fictions, for the good of the church, hiſtorical faith was wounded: the tongue, the pen, the memory and imagination of men, had loſt their rule and compaſs; ſo that *chriſtian veracity* had a more juſt claim to become proverbial, than grecian honeſty, or punic faith. This is the more to be regretted, as the epoch of chriſtianity follows the period of the moſt excellent hiſtorians of Greece and Rome; after whom true hiſtory almoſt diſappears at once with the chriſtian era for many centuries. It quickly ſinks into a chronicle of biſhops, churches, and monks; as the pen was employed, not for what is moſt worthy of man, not for the

World and the ſtate, but for the church, or for orders, cloiſters, and ſects; and as men were accuſtomed to homilies, and the people were to believe the biſhop in all things, writers conſidered the whole World as a race of believers, as a chriſtian flock.

5. *Chriſtianity had only two ſacred rites, very ſimple, and well adapted to their purpoſes*; for nothing was farther from the intention of it's founder, than that it ſhould be a ceremonial religion. But deutero-chriſtianity ſoon became intermixed with jewiſh and heathen practices, according to the difference of places and times, ſo that the baptiſm of infants was converted into an exorciſm of Satan, and a feaſt in commemoration of a departed friend became the creation of a God, a bloodleſs ſacrifice, a miracle for the remiſſion of ſin, a viaticum to the other World. Unfortunately the period of chriſtianity coincided with that of ignorance, barbariſm, and depraved taſte; whence little truly great and noble could enter into it's ceremonies, the ſtructure of it's churches, the inſtitution of it's feſtivals, ſtatutes, and pageantry, it's hymns, prayers, and rituals. Theſe ceremonies rolled on from land to land, from one quarter of the Globe to another; what originally derived ſome local meaning from ancient cuſtom loſt it in foreign countries, and remote times: thus the ſpirit of chriſtian liturgies became a ſingular jumble of jewiſh, egyptian, greek, roman, barbarian, practices, in which what was ſerious frequently became tireſome, or abſurd. A hiſtory of chriſtian taſte, in feſtivals, temples, rituals, conſecrations, and literary compoſition, contemplated

templated with a philoſophic eye, would exhibit the moſt chequered picture the World ever beheld, of a ſubject that was intended to be free of ceremony. And as this chriſtian taſte in time inſinuated itſelf into juridical and political cuſtoms, domeſtic eſtabliſhments, plays, romances, dances, ſongs, tournaments, coats of arms, battles, triumphs, and other feſtivities; it muſt be confeſſed, that the human mind received from it an incredible twiſt; and that the croſs erected over nations ſtamped a ſingular impreſſion on their foreheads. The *piſcicule chriſtiani* ſwam for ages in a turbid element.

6. *Chriſt lived unmarried, and his mother was a virgin: ſerene and cheerful as he was, he loved occaſional ſolitude, and prayed in private.* The ſpirit of the orientals, the egyptians in particular, who were previouſly inclined to contemplation, ſecluſion, and religious indolence, carried the notion of the holineſs of celibacy, eſpecially in the prieſthood, and of the pleaſingneſs to God of virginity, ſolitude, and a contemplative life, to ſuch an extravagant pitch, that, as eſſenes, therapeutæ, and other ſolitaries, already abounded, above all in Egypt, the ſpirit of ſecluſion, vows, faſting, penitence, prayer, and a monaſtic life, was ſet in full fermentation by chriſtianity. In different countries, indeed, it aſſumed different forms; and according as it was modified, proved either a benefit, or an injury: upon the whole, however, it is incontrovertible, that the injurioufneſs of this way of life, the moment it becomes an irrevocable law, a ſlaviſh yoke, or a political net, is predominant, for ſociety in general, as well

well as for it's individual members. From China and Thibet, to Ireland, Mexico, and Peru, cloiſters of bonzes, lamas, and talapoins, and of all chriſtian monks and nuns, in their ſeveral kinds and claſſes, are the dungeons of religion and the ſtate, ſeminaries of barbarity, vice, and oppreſſion, or ſewers of the moſt abominable luſts and knaveries. And though we would deprive no ſpiritual order of it's merits with reſpect to the culture of the earth, the improvement of man, or the promotion of ſcience; we ought never to ſhut our ears againſt the ſecret ſighs and lamentations, that echo through theſe hollow vaults, ſecluded from humankind; or will we turn our heads, to view the empty viſions of ſupramundane contemplation, or the continued cabals of furious monkiſh zeal, in a form certainly adapted to no enlightened age. To chriſtianity they are unqueſtionably foreign; for Chriſt was no monk; Mary, no nun; the moſt ancient of the apoſtles was accompanied by his wife; and neither Chriſt, nor any of the twelve, knew aught of ſupramundane contemplation.

7. Finally, *chriſtianity, in ſeeking to found a heavenly kingdom upon Earth*, and to convince men of the tranſitorineſs of all earthly things, at all times formed thoſe pure and tranquil minds, which ſought not the eyes of the World, and performed their good deeds before God; but, alas! it alſo cheriſhed, by it's groſs abuſe, that falſe enthuſiaſm, which, almoſt from it's commencement, gave birth to frantic martyrs and prophets in abundance. They endeavoured to erect a kingdom of Heaven upon the Earth, without

without knowing where or how it was to ſtand. They oppoſed the government, and looſed the bands of order, without giving the World a better; while vulgar pride, baſe arrogance, ſcandalous luſt, and mad ſtupidity, concealed themſelves under the overflow of chriſtian zeal. As the deceived jews followed their Pſeudo-Meſſiahs, the chriſtians in one place flocked to the banners of bold impoſtors, in another fawned on the moſt deſpicable and diſſolute tyrants, as if they had eſtabliſhed the kingdom of God upon Earth, when they built for them churches, or conferred on them donations. Thus the weak Conſtantine was flattered; and this myſtic language of prophetic fanaticiſm extended itſelf, according to times and circumſtances, both to men and women. The Paraclete has often appeared; and the Spirit has often ſpoken to a deeply enamoured enthuſiaſt from female lips. Hiſtory ſhows what diſcord and calamity have been introduced into the chriſtian World by chiliaſts and anabaptiſts, donatiſts, montaniſts, priſcillianiſts, circumcellions, and others: how ſome of heated imaginations have deſpiſed and deſtroyed works of ſcience, demoliſhed and extirpated monuments of art, inſtitutions, and men: how a palpable impoſture, or ridiculous accident, occaſionally ſet whole countries in commotion: how, for example, the fancied approach of the World's end drove all Europe into Aſia. Let us not, however, refuſe it's due praiſe to pure chriſtian enthuſiaſm: this, when it took a right courſe, performed more in a ſhort time for many ages, than all the coolneſs and indifference of philoſophy could ever

ever accompliſh. The leaves of deceit fall off; but the fruit ripens. The flames of time conſume the ſtraw and ſtubble; but real gold they can only refine.

Whatever melancholy has croſſed my mind, while my pen has traced many of theſe ſhameful abuſes of the beſt of things, I proceed with cheerfulneſs to the propagation of chriſtianity in different countries and regions: for as medicine may be converted into poiſon, poiſon may be rendered ſalutiferous; and what is pure and good in it's origin muſt ultimately prove triumphant.

CHAPTER II.

Propagation of Chriſtianity in the Eaſt.

In Judea chriſtianity grew under oppreſſion, and retained the ſtamp of oppreſſion in it's form, as long as the jewiſh ſtate endured. The nazarenes and ebionites, in all probability the remains of the firſt body of chriſtians, were poor and low perſons, and have long been extinct; their names alone remaining in the liſt of heretics, on account of their opinion, that Jeſus was a mere man, the ſon of Joſeph and Mary. It is to be regretted, that their Goſpel is loſt; as in it probably we ſhould have the earlieſt collection, though not altogether pure, of the neareſt local traditions of the life of Chriſt. Thus, too, the ancient books in poſſeſſion of the ſabeans, or Saint John's chriſtians, were probably not unworthy notice: for though a pure illuſtration of the primitive times could by no means be expected from

from this fabling ſect, a compound of jews and chriſtians, even fables often throw light on things of this kind*.

The influence of the church at Jeruſalem on other communities aroſe chiefly from *the reſpect paid to the apoſtles:* for as James, the brother of Jeſus, a ſenſible and worthy man, preſided over it for a number of years, there can be no doubt, but it's form would be a model to others. A jewiſh model, therefore: and as almoſt every country, and every city, of primitive chriſtendom, would be converted by an apoſtle, every where imitations of the church at Jeruſalem, apoſtolical communities, aroſe. The biſhop, who received the unction of the Spirit from an apoſtle, occupied the apoſtle's place, and with it enjoyed his authority. The power of the Spirit, which he had received, he again imparted, and ſoon became a kind of high-prieſt, a mediator between God and man. As the firſt council at Jeruſalem ſpoke in the name of the Holy Spirit, other councils did the ſame in imitation of it; and we are ſtartled at the ſpiritual power very early acquired by the biſhops, in the aſiatic provinces. Thus the authority of the apoſtles, which viſibly deſcended to the biſhops, rendered the moſt ancient conſtitution of the church ariſtocratic; and in this conſtitution lay the germe of a future hierarchy, and a

* The neweſt and moſt authentic account of this ſect is in Norberg's *Comment. de Relig. & Lingua Sabæorum*, 'Eſſay on the Religion and Language of the Sabæans,' 1780. This ſhould be printed with the Eſſays of Walch and others, after the manner of older collections.

popedom.

popedom. What is ſaid of the pure virginity of the church during the firſt three centuries is either fiction, or exaggeration.

It is well known, that *an oriental philoſophy*, as it is called, had ſpread very conſiderably in the firſt ages of chriſtianity. This, however, more cloſely inveſtigated, appears to have been nothing but a ſhoot from the eclectic, or modern platonic philoſophy, ſuch as the country and time were adapted to produce. It wound itſelf round judaiſm and chriſtianity; but neither ſprang from them, nor produced them any fruits. The gnoſtics were branded with the name of heretics, from the commencement of chriſtianity, becauſe the chriſtians would not admit among them any ſubtilizing philoſophaſters; and many of them would have remained unknown to us, had they not been entered in the rolls of ſchiſm. We could wiſh, that their writings alſo had been preſerved, as they would not be unwelcome to us, with regard to the canon of the New Teſtament: at preſent we perceive from a few particular opinions of this numerous ſect, yet remaining, nothing more than a crude attempt, to intermix the fictions of the oriental platoniſts, reſpecting the nature of God, and the creation of the World, witl. judaiſm and chriſtianity, and thence form a metaphyſical theology, principally of allegorical names, with a theodicy and moral philoſophy. As the name of heretic is unknown to the hiſtory of mankind, every one of theſe unſucceſsful attempts is valuable to it, and worthy it's notice; though at the ſame time it is

well

well for the hiſtory of chriſtianity, that ſuch reveries ſhould never become the prevailing ſyſtem of the church. After the pains that have been beſtowed on this ſect eccleſiaſtically, a pure philoſophical inquiry, whence their notions were derived, what was their intention, and what effect they produced, would not be unprofitable to the hiſtory of the human underſtanding *.

The doctrines of Manes, whoſe object was nothing leſs, than to be the founder of a complete chriſtianity, made farther progreſs. He periſhed; and his numerous followers were ſo perſecuted in all places, and at all times, that the name of manichean, eſpecially after Auſtin had taken up the pen againſt them, became one of the moſt terrible ſtigmas of a heretic. We now ſhudder at this eccleſiaſtical ſpirit of perſecution, and perceive, that many of theſe hereſiarchs were men of reflecting and enterprizing minds, who boldly attempted, not only to combine religion, metaphyſics, morals, and natural philoſophy, but to unite them for the purpoſe of an actual ſociety, a philoſophico-political religious order. Some of them were lovers of ſcience, and are to be pitied for being denied more ample knowledge by their ſituation: the catholic party, however, would have become a ſtagnant pool, had not theſe wild winds ſet it in motion, and compelled them at leaſt to defend their written tradition. The time of pure reaſon, and a poli-

* After Beauſobre, Moſheim, Brucker, Walch, Jablonſki, Semler, and others, we may now take a more clear and free view of the ſubject.

tical

tical improvement of morals by it, was not yet arrived; and for the religious community of Manes there was no place, either in Perſia, or Armenia, any more than afterwards among the bulgarians, or albigenſes.

Chriſtian ſects penetrated into India, Thibet, and China, though by ways that remain obſcure to us*: the ſhock, however, that was given to the remoteſt regions of Aſia in the firſt centuries of the chriſtian era, is obſervable in their own hiſtories. The doctrine of Budda, or Fo, which is ſaid to have come from Bactra, acquired freſh animation at this period. It ſpread to Ceylon, Thibet, and China: hindoo books on the ſubject were tranſlated into the chineſe language, and the great ſect of the bonzes was brought to perfection. Without aſcribing to chriſtianity all the abominations of the bonzes, or the whole of the monaſtic ſyſtem of the lamas and talapoins, it ſeems to have been the leaven, which ſet all the ancient reveries of the people from Egypt to China in fermentation anew, and modified them more or leſs. Many fables of Budda, Chriſhnoo, and the reſt, appear to include chriſtian ideas enveloped in an indian garb; and the great lama on the mountains, who probably aroſe

* It is to be wiſhed, that the eſſays by De Guignes, in the writings of the french Academy of Inſcriptions, were collected and tranſlated as thoſe of Caylus, St. Palaye, and others, have been. This appears to me the eaſieſt mode of drawing things worthy notice out of the wilderneſs of a ſociety, and of rendering the diſcoveries of individuals uſeful, as well as of uniting them together.

firſt in the fifteenth century, is, with his perſonal ſanctity and rigid doctrines, his bells and religious orders, in all appearance a diſtant couſin of the lama on the Tiber: the difference is, there manicheiſm and neſtorianiſm were grafted on aſiatic ideas and manners; here orthodox chriſtianity was inſerted into a roman ſtock. The two couſins, however, would not readily recognize each other, ſo little intercourſe has been kept up between them.

We have a clearer knowledge of the more learned neſtorians, who ſpread themſelves far into Aſia, particularly after the fifth century, and did much good*. Almoſt from the commencement of the chriſtian era the ſchool of Edeſſa flouriſhed as the ſeat of ſyrian learning. King Abgarus, who has been held forth as an epiſtolary correſpondent of Chriſt himſelf, when he removed his reſidence from Niſibis, tranſported to Edeſſa the collections of books, which were in the temples. At this period, every one, who was deſirous of becoming learned, travelled to Edeſſa, from all parts of the World; for beſide chriſtian theology, the fine arts were taught there in the greek and ſyrian languages, ſo that Edeſſa was probably the firſt chriſtian univerſity ever eſtabliſhed. It flouriſhed for four centuries, till the profeſſors were expelled on account of the doctrines of Neſtorius, to which they adhered, and their ſchool

* Pfeifer's *Auſzug aus Aſſemanni Orientaliſcher Bibliothek*, 'Abſtract of Aſſemanni's Oriental Bibliotheca,' Erlang. 1776, is an uſeful work for this almoſt unknown region of hiſtory: a particular, connected hiſtory of eaſtern chriſtendom, and of neſtorianiſm eſpecially, is ſtill a deſideratum.

was

was demoliſhed. But in conſequence of this the ſyrian literature ſpread not only into Meſopotamia, Paleſtine, Syria, and Phenicia, but even into Perſia; where it experienced an honourable reception, and where at laſt a neſtorian pope aroſe, who ruled over all the chriſtians in this kingdom, and afterwards over thoſe of Arabia, India, Mungalia, and China.

Whether he were the celebrated preſter-john (*pres-tadſhani*, the prieſt of the World), of whom many fabulous reports were ſpread in the middle ages; and whether, from a ſingular mixture of doctrines, the great lama at laſt aroſe from him; we ſhall leave undecided *. Suffice it, that in Perſia the favoured neſtorians were employed by it's monarchs as phyſicians to the body, ambaſſadors, and miniſters; the chriſtian writings were tranſlated into the perſian; and the ſyriac became the learned language of the country. When the empire of Mohammed gained the ſway, particularly under his ſucceſſors the Ommiades, neſtorians filled the higheſt poſts of honour, and were made viceroys of the conquered provinces; and when the khalifs reſided at Bagdad, as well as after they had removed their reſidence to Samarraja, the patriarch of the neſtorians ſhared their authority. Under Al-Mamon, who encouraged learning among his people, and appointed phyſicians and aſtronomers, philoſophers, natu-

* Fiſcher, in the introduction to his *Siberiſchen Geſchichte*, 'Hiſtory of Siberia,' § 38 and following, has rendered this opinion very probable. Others are for the *ung-khan*, the khan of the keraites. See Koch's *Table des Revolutions*, 'Table of Revolutions,' Vol. I, p. 265.

raliſts, mathematicians, geographers, and annaliſts, to teach in the academy of Bagdad, the ſyrians were aſſociates and inſtructors of the arabs. They rivalled each other in tranſlating into arabic the works of the greeks, many of which had already been tranſlated into that language: and if the light of ſcience afterwards dawned on benighted Europe from the arabic, the ſyriac chriſtians originally contributed to this. Their language, the firſt of the oriental dialects in this region into which vowels were admitted, and which can boaſt the moſt ancient and elegant tranſlation of the New Teſtament, was the bridge of grecian ſcience for Aſia, and through the arabs for Europe. Under ſuch favourable circumſtances, neſtorian miſſions then extended themſelves far and wide; though other chriſtian ſects found means to ſuppreſs them, or chace them away. Under the family of Gengis-khan, too, they were of conſiderable importance: their patriarch frequently accompanied the khan on his expeditions, and thus their doctrines were ſpread among the mungals, igurians, and other tatar nations. Samarcand was the ſeat of a metropolitan; Caſhgar, and other cities, of biſhops: and if the celebrated chriſtian monument in China be genuine, there is to be found on it a complete chronicle of the immigration of the prieſts from Tatſin. If with this be conſidered, that the whole of the mohammedan religion, ſuch as it is, would never have ariſen, had it not been preceded by chriſtianity, we find in this, beyond all diſpute, a leaven, which, more or leſs, ſooner

ſooner or later, ſet in commotion the way of thinking of all the ſouth and part of the north of Aſia.

From this commotion, however, no new and peculiar bloſſom of the human intellect, as perhaps with the greeks and romans, was to be expected. The neſtorians, by whom ſo much was effected, were not a nation, were not a race growing up of itſelf in a maternal ſoil: they were chriſtians, they were monks. Their language, indeed, they were capable of teaching: but what could they write in it? Liturgies, expoſitions of Scripture, monaſtic books of devotion, ſermons, polemical works, chronicles, and inſipid verſes. Hence in the ſyriac-chriſtian literature there is not a ſpark of that poetic genius, which burſts from the ſoul, and warms the heart: a miſerable knack at verſifying catalogues of names, homilies, and chronicles, conſtituted the whole of their art of poetry. In none of the ſciences they cultivated did they diſplay the leaſt ſpirit of invention, in none did they purſue any method of their own. A melancholy proof how little was done by the aſcetico-polemic monachal ſpirit, with all it's politic cunning. In this barren form it diſplayed itſelf in every quarter of the Globe, and ſtill lords it on the mountains of Thibet; where not the leaſt trace of free inventive genius is to be diſcovered, throughout the legally eſtabliſhed monkiſh conſtitution. Whatever proceeds from the cloiſter is, for the moſt part, adapted only to the convent.

Hiſtory, then, need not expatiate long on the particular provinces of chriſtian Aſia. Chriſtianity reached Armenia at an early period, and beſtowed

on it's ancient memorable language an alphabet, with a double and triple verſion of the Scriptures, and an armenian hiſtory. But neither Miſrob with his alphabet, nor his ſcholar, Moſes of Chorene *, with his hiſtory, could confer on their people literature, or a national conſtitution. Armenia always lay in the way of other nations: as it had been formerly under perſians, greeks, and romans, it now fell under arabs, turks, tatars, and curdes. It's inhabitants ſtill purſue their ancient occupation, trade: a ſcientific or political edifice could never have been eſtabliſhed in this place, with or without chriſtianity.

The ſtate of chriſtian Georgia is ſtill more wretched. There are churches and convents, patriarchs, biſhops, and monks: the women are beautiful; the men, brave: yet the parent will ſell his child; the huſband, his wife; the prince, his ſubjects; the devotee, his prieſt. A ſingular ſort of chriſtianity, among this gay and faithleſs nation of robbers.

The Goſpel was early tranſlated into Arabic, alſo; and many chriſtian ſects have taken great pains about the fine country of Arabia. In it jews and chriſtians often perſecuted each other; but neither party, though each occaſionally produced even kings, effected any thing of importance. Every thing fell before Mohammed; and now, indeed, there is not a chriſtian community in Arabia, though there are whole tribes of jews. Three religions, deſcendants of one another, guard with mu-

* Whiſton's preface to *Moſis Chorenſis Hiſt. Armen.* 1736: Schroeder's *Theſaur. Ling. Armen. Diſſ.* p. 62.

tual

tual hatred the ſanctuary of their birth place, the deſerts of Arabia*.

If we would now take a view of the general reſult of the effects, produced by chriſtianity in it's aſiatic provinces; we muſt firſt agree on the point of view, in which the advantages, that this, or any religion, could confer on one quarter of the Globe, ought to be placed.

1. Chriſtianity may have ſecretly operated to the furthering of *a heavenly kingdom upon Earth*, that is, a more perfect order of things, for the good of nations: but the flower of this operation, a perfect ſtate, it has never produced, either in Aſia, or in Europe. Arabs and ſyrians, perſians and armenians, hindoos and druſes, have remained what they were; and no political conſtitution in that country can boaſt of it's being the offspring of chriſtianity; even if anchoritiſm and monaſtic devotion, or a hierarchy of any kind, with their reſtleſs endeavours, be taken as the ſtandard of a chriſtian ſtate. Patriarchs and biſhops ſend miſſionaries round to extend their ſects, their dioceſes, their power: they ſeek the favour of princes, to obtain influence in affairs, or convents and communities: one party ſtrives againſt another, and endeavours to obtain the ſuperiority. Thus jews and chriſtians, neſtorians and monophyſites, hunt each other round; and no party thinks of acting ſimply and freely for the good

* Bruce's Travels into Abyſſinia give a remarkable hiſtory of the chriſtianity of theſe regions: whether, on the whole, any new concluſions may be derived from it, time will ſhow.

of any place or country. The clergy of the eaſt, who were never without a ſpice of monkery, would ſerve God, and not mankind.

2. There are three methods of acting upon men; by *teaching*, *authority*, and *religious ceremonies*. Teaching is the ſimpleſt, and moſt effectual, if it be of the right kind. Inſtruction of the young and of the old, when it relates to the eſſential concerns and duties of man, cannot fail to introduce, or keep in circulation, much uſeful knowledge: the fame, and preeminence of having rendered ſuch more clear even to the lower people pertain excluſively to chriſtianity in many countries. Catechiſms, ſermons, hymns, creeds, and prayers, have diffuſed a knowledge of God, and of morals, among the people: tranſlations and expoſitions of the holy Scriptures have imparted to them writing and literature; and where nations were ſtill in ſuch infancy, that they were incapable of comprehending any thing but fables, there at leaſt a ſacred fable revived. Herein, it is obvious, every thing depended upon this, whether the man, who was to teach, were capable of teaching, and what he taught. In both theſe points, however, the anſwer muſt vary ſo much, according to the perſon, the people, the time, and the country, that at laſt we muſt confine ourſelves to what was to be taught, to what the prevailing church maintained. Fearing the incapacity and boldneſs of many of it's teachers, it preferred brevity, and confined itſelf within a narrow circle. It thus, we muſt allow, incurred the danger of having the ſubſtance of it's doctrines very ſoon exhauſted,

ed, and reduced to repetition; ſo that in a few generations the hereditary religion would loſe all the luſtre of novelty, and the dull teacher would ſlumber over his antiquated creed. Thus, for the moſt part, the firſt ſhock of chriſtian miſſions alone was truly vivid; ſoon one dull wave drove on a duller, till at laſt all gently ſubſided in the ſtill ſurface of an accuſtomed ancient chriſtian ceremony. By ceremonies compenſation was endeavoured to be made for the decay of the ſoul of ceremony, doctrine; and thus the ceremonial ſyſtem was invented, which at length became an inanimate puppet, ſtanding immoveable and unmoved in ancient pomp. The puppet was invented for the convenience both of teacher and hearer; for it afforded them both food for reflection, if they choſe to reflect; and if not, ſtill, it was ſaid, the vehicle of religion would not be loſt. And as from the beginning the church was very tenacious of unanimity, formularies by which the herd would be leaſt diſtracted were abſolutely the beſt for preſerving dull uniformity. The churches of Aſia afford the completeſt demonſtration of all this: they ſtill are, what they were almoſt two thouſand years ago, ſlumbering bodies, deſtitute of mind: even hereſy is extinct in them, for they poſſeſs not ſufficient energy for hereſies.

Poſſibly, however, the authority of the prieſts may ſupply, what is loſt by the torpor of the doctrine, or the ceſſation of impulſe? In ſome meaſure it may, but not altogether. A ſacred perſon full of years is ſurrounded with the mild beams of paternal expe-

experience, mature judgement, and tranquillity undisturbed by the passions: hence it is so many travellers speak of the reverence, with which they were inspired in the presence of the aged patriarchs, priests, and bishops of the east. A noble simplicity in their carriage, dress, conduct, and way of life, contributes much to this: and many a worthy anchorite, if he keep not his instructions, warnings, and consolations from the World, may have done more good, than a hundred idle preachers amid the bustle of highways and markets. Instruction, however, is the noblest source of authority, united with example founded on knowledge and experience; if short sightedness and prejudice step into the seat of truth, the authority of the most respectable person is dangerous and detrimental.

3. As the life of man is altogether calculated for the active purposes of general society; it is evident, that, in christianity also, every thing must soon or late die away, that counteracts these. Every lifeless member is dead; and as soon as the living body is sensible of it's own life, and the useless burden of the dead member, this member is removed. As long as the missions in Asia retained their activity, they imparted and received animation: but when the temporal power of the arabs, turks, and tatars, destroyed this, they spread no farther. Their convents and episcopal sees stand as ruins of ancient times, melancholy and confined: many are tolerated only for the sake of their presents, tributes, and abject services.

4. As christianity operates chiefly by means of it's

it's doctrines, much depends on the *language*, in which they are inculcated, and on the degree of mental cultivation already contained in them, to which it orthodoxly adheres. With a cultivated or univerſal language it not only propagates itſelf, but it acquires by means of it improvement and reſpect: but if, as a ſacred dialect of divine origin, it remain behind other living languages, or be reſtricted to the limits of an obſolete, rude paternal dialect, as to a decayed palace; it muſt in time be reduced to drag on a weariſome life in it, as a wretched tyrant, or an ignorant priſoner. As in Aſia the greek language, and afterwards the ſyriac, were overpowered by the victorious arabic, the knowledge they contained was thrown out of circulation: they could only propagate themſelves as liturgies, as creeds, as a monkiſh theology. We are miſtaken, therefore, when we attribute to the ſubſtance of a religion, what properly pertains only to the inſtruments, with which it operates. Look at the St. Thomas's chriſtians in India, the georgians, the armenians, the abyſſinians, the copts: what are they? what has chriſtianity made of them? The copts and abyſſinians poſſeſs libraries of ancient books, unintelligible to themſelves, but which might probably be of uſe in the hands of europeans: they uſe them not; they cannot uſe them. Their chriſtianity has ſunk into the moſt wretched ſuperſtition.

5. Here, then, it is incumbent upon me, to beſtow on the *greek language* that praiſe, which it ſo eminently merits in the hiſtory of mankind; for by it's aid all the light has been kindled, that has illumined

illumined or beamed upon Europe. Had not this language been ſo widely extended, and ſo long preſerved, by the conqueſts of Alexander, the kingdoms of his ſucceſſors, and the roman poſſeſſions, chriſtianity would ſcarcely have contributed in the leaſt to enlighten Aſia: for both the orthodox and the heretic kindled their true or falſe lights, mediately or immediately, at the grecian language. From it, too, the armenian, ſyriac, and arabic languages derived their illumining ſpark: and had the firſt chriſtian writings been compoſed not in greek, but in the hebrew dialect of that time; could not the Goſpel have been preached and propagated in greek; the ſtream, that now waters nations, would probably have been choked near it's fountain. The chriſtians would have been, what the ebionites were, and perhaps the St. John's and St. Thomas's chriſtians are, a poor deſpiſed multitude, deſtitute of all effect on the ſpirit of nations. Let us, therefore, quit it's oriental birthplace, for that ſtage on which it acted a greater part.

CHAPTER III.

Progreſs of Chriſtianity in the Grecian Countries.

WE obſerved, that *helleniſm*, or a freer manner of thinking of the jews intermixed with the ideas of others, prepared the way for the riſe of chriſtianity: accordingly chriſtianity, when it began it's courſe, proceeded far on this way; and in a ſhort time extenſive regions, where any helleniſtic jews reſided, were

were filled with the new miſſion. The appellation of chriſtians was firſt given in a grecian city: the firſt writings of chriſtianity were moſt extenſively circulated in the grecian language; for this language was more or leſs diffuſed from India to the Atlantic, from Lybia to Thule. It may be conſidered both as fortunate and unfortunate, that Judea was particularly near to a province, which contributed much to the firſt form of chriſtianity, the province of Egypt. If Jeruſalem were it's cradle, Alexandria was it's ſchool.

Since the time of the Ptolemies a number of jews had reſided for the ſake of trade in Egypt, where they endeavoured to create a Judea of their own, built a temple, tranſlated their ſacred writings one after another into greek, and augmented their number. There had been very flouriſhing eſtabliſhments for the promotion of ſcience alſo at Alexandria, ſince the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus; ſuch as were to be found nowhere elſe, even Athens not excepted. Fourteen thouſand ſcholars had been lodged and maintained there for a conſiderable time at the public expenſe: here were the celebrated muſeum, the immenſe library, the works that conferred renown on ancient poets and learned men of every kind: thus the great ſchool of nations was here, in the centre of the commerce of the World. From this conflux of nations, and the gradual amalgamation of the ſentiments of all in the greek and roman empire, aroſe the *modern platonic philoſophy*, as it was called, and particularly that ſingular *ſyncretiſm*, which ſought to unite the principles of all parties,

ties, and in a ſhort time aſſimilated the ideas of indians, perſians, jews, ethiopians, egyptians, greeks, romans, and barbarians. This ſpirit prevailed wonderfully in the roman empire, as every where philoſophers ſprung up, who added the notions of their own native places to the general maſs: but Alexandria was the ſpot where it moſt eminently flouriſhed. Into this ocean the drop of chriſtianity was caſt, and attracted to itſelf whatever it ſuppoſed itſelf capable of aſſimilating. Platonic notions had already been introduced into chriſtianity in the writings of Paul and John: the moſt ancient fathers of the church, when they entered upon philoſophy, were obliged to employ the generally received modes of expreſſion, and ſome of them found their *Logos*, for example, long before the exiſtence of chriſtianity, in the ſoul of every philoſopher. Probably it would not have been to be regretted, had the ſyſtem of chriſtianity remained, what, according to the repreſentations of a Juſtin martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and others, it was intended to be, a liberal philoſophy, reprobating virtue and the love of truth at no time, and among no people, and yet unacquainted with excluſive verbal formularies, which afterwards obtained the force of laws. It is certain, the earlier fathers of the church, who were formed in Alexandria, were not the worſt: Origen alone did more than ten thouſand biſhops and patriarchs; ſince, but for the learned critical induſtry, which he employed on the records of chriſtianity, this would have almoſt ſunk, with regard to it's origin, among unclaſſic fables. His ſpirit was tranſmitted

mitted to ſome of his ſcholars alſo; and many fathers of the alexandrian ſchool thought and argued at leaſt with more addreſs and refinement, than many other ignorant and fanatic heads.

It muſt be confeſſed, however, that Egypt, with the philoſophy then in faſhion, was alſo a ſchool of corruption for chriſtianity: for every thing, that, during a period of near two thouſand years, has excited diſputes, quarrels, tumults, perſecutions, and the diſturbance of whole nations, aroſe from theſe foreign platonic notions, on which men refined with grecian ſubtilty, and which gave chriſtianity in general that *ſophiſtical* form, ſo diſcrepant from it's nature. From the ſingle word *logos* aroſe hereſies and acts of violence, at which the *logos* within us, ſound reaſon, yet ſhudders. Many of theſe diſputes were capable of being carried on in the grecian language alone; to which they ſhould have been for ever confined, and never have been introduced as doctrinal formularies into others. They include no truth, no information, that has afforded an addition to human knowledge, new power to the underſtanding, or a noble motive to the will: the whole body of chriſtian polemics, carried on againſt arians, photinians, macedonians, neſtorians, eutychians, monophyſites, tritheites, monothelites, and the reſt, might have been inſtantly cruſhed, without the leaſt detriment to chriſtianity, or human reaſon. Men were obliged to overlook and forget them altogether, with their conſequences, thoſe groſs decrees of ſo many councils of courtiers and robbers, before they could again contemplate the

the original records of chriſtianity in their primitive purity, and arrive at an open, ſimple expoſition of them: nay, they ſtill obſtruct and afflict many timorous minds, or ſuch as are perſecuted on account of them. The ſpeculative ſpirit of theſe ſects reſembles the lernean hydra, or the polypus, which cut in pieces forms a new animal from every limb. This uſeleſs tiſſue, injurious to mankind, runs through many ages of hiſtory: rivers of blood have been ſhed upon it; and innumerable multitudes, often of the worthieſt men, have been deprived of property and honour, of friends, of home, and of reſt, of health and life, by the moſt ignorant villains. Even honeſt barbarians, burgundians, goths, lombards, franks, and ſaxons, in pious orthodoxy have taken part in theſe maſſacres, with ardent ſectarian zeal, for or againſt arians, bogomilians, catharians, albigenſes, waldenſes, &c.; and, a true church militant, have drawn their ſwords as warriors, not idly, for the genuine baptiſmal form. There is not, perhaps, a more barren field within the domains of literature, than the hiſtory of this chriſtian exerciſe of the word and the ſword; which ſo deprived the human mind of it's proper faculty of thinking, the records of chriſtianity of their evident purpoſe, and civil ſociety of it's fundamental principles and rules; that at laſt we are reduced, to thank other barbarians and ſaracens for having deſtroyed by their wild irruptions the diſgrace of the human intellect. Thanks to all thoſe men*, who have exhibited to us

* After the labours of the reformers, with thoſe of a Calixtus, Dallæus, Du Pin, Le Clerc, Moſheim, and others, the

us in their true forms the movers of ſuch diſputes, an Athanaſius, a Cyril, a Theophilus, a Conſtantine, and an Irenæus: for as long as the names of the fathers of the church and their councils are quoted with ſlaviſh reſpect, we are maſters neither of Scripture, nor of our own underſtanding.

Chriſtian morality, likewiſe, found not a more favourable ſoil in Egypt, or other parts of the greek empire: there wretched abuſe created that vaſt army of cenobites and monks, who, not ſatisfied with mental extaſies in the deſerts of the Thebaid, frequently traverſed countries as mercenary ſoldiers, interfered in elections of biſhops, diſturbed councils, and compelled their holy ſpirit to pronounce, whatever the unholy ſpirit of theſe miſcreants thought proper. I honour Solitude, the meditating ſiſter of Society, and often her legiſlator, who converts the experience of active life into principles, and it's paſſions into nutritious juices. Compaſſion is due likewiſe to that conſoling ſolitude, which, weary of the yoke of other men, and tired of their perſecutions, finds a balm in the heaven within. Many of the firſt chriſtians unqueſtionably were ſolitaries of the latter kind, whom the tyranny of a great military empire, or the abominations of towns, drove into the deſert, where, having few wants, a temperate climate gave them a friendly reception.

name of Semler will ever remain highly reſpected for a liberal view of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. He has been followed by Spittler, with penetrating eye, and luminous ſtyle: others will ſucceed; and every period of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory will be exhibited in it's true light.

The more, however, let us deſpiſe that proud, ſelfiſh retirement, which, contemning active life, places merit in contemplation and penance, nouriſhes itſelf with phantoms, and, inſtead of annihilating the paſſions, cheriſhes within the wildeſt of all, ſelfiſh, immoderate pride.

Unfortunately, for this chriſtianity became a dazzling pretext, when ſuch of it's precepts, as were intended for a particular few, were converted into general laws, or indeed conditions for obtaining the kingdom of Heaven, and Chriſt was ſought in the deſert. There Heaven was to be found by men, who diſdained being citizens of the Earth, and relinquiſhed the moſt eſtimable gifts of human kind, reaſon, morality, talents, friendſhip, and parental, nuptial, and filial affection. Accurſed be the praiſe, that men, from miſconception of Scripture, have often ſo abundantly and imprudently beſtowed on an idle, contemplative life of celibacy: accurſed the falſe impreſſions, that have been ſtamped on youth with enthuſiaſtic eloquence, thus crippling and diſtorting the human intellect for ages. Whence is it, that we find in the writings of the fathers ſo little pure morality: and often good and bad, gold and droſs, jumbled together*? Whence is it, that we cannot mention a ſingle book of thoſe times, even of the moſt excellent men, who had ſtill ſo many greek authors at their command, which, putting

* Barbeyrac, Le Clerc, Thomaſius, Semler, and others, have ſhown this; Rœſler's *Bibliothek der Kirchenvæter*, 'Bibliotheca of the Fathers of the Church,' exhibits it in a very popular manner.

ſtyle

ſtyle and compoſition entirely out of the queſtion, but merely in reſpect to morality and it's general ſpirit, deſerves to be placed by the ſide of a ſingle work of the ſocratic ſchool? Whence is it, that even the ſelect maxims of the fathers have ſo much of extravagance and monkery in them, when compared with the morals of the greeks? Men's minds were deranged by the new philoſophy, which taught them to wander in the aerial regions, inſtead of living upon Earth: and as there can be no diſeaſe of greater magnitude than this, it is a misfortune much to be deplored, that it was propagated by doctrines, authority, and inſtitutions, and rendered the fountains of pure morality turbid for ages.

When at length chriſtianity was exalted, and the imperial ſtandard gave it that name, with which, as the paramount religion of the roman empire, it ſtill flies above all other names upon Earth; the impurity at once became evident, which ſo ſingularly mixed the affairs of the church and the ſtate, that ſcarcely any thing could be viewed in it's proper ſhape. While preaching toleration, they, who had long ſuffered, became themſelves intolerant: and as duties toward the ſtate were confounded with the pure relations of man to God, while a ſemi-jewiſh monkiſh religion was unconſciouſly made the baſe of a chriſtian byzantine empire; how could it be otherwiſe, than that the true affinity between crimes and puniſhments, rights and duties, and indeed between the members of the conſtitution itſelf, muſt have been baſely deſtroyed? The ſacerdotal order was introduced into the ſtate; not, as among

the romans, to cooperate immediately with it's other members; but as a monaſtic and mendicant order, for the benefit of which a hundred ordinances were made, burdenſome to the reſt, inconſiſtent with themſelves, and obliged to be repeatedly altered, in order that the form of a ſtate might remain. To the great yet weak Conſtantine we are indebted, without his knowing it, for that two headed monſter, which, under the name of the ſpiritual and temporal power, cajoled or tyranniſed over itſelf and others, and after twice ten centuries has ſcarcely come to a peaceable agreement on the purpoſes, which religion and government have to fulfil among mankind. To him we are indebted for that pious imperial arbitrarineſs in the laws, and with it that chriſtian-princelike unkingly pliability, from which the moſt fearful deſpotiſm could not fail in a ſhort time to ariſe *. Hence the vices and barbarities in the horrible byzantine hiſtory: hence the venal incenſe offered to the vileſt chriſtian emperors: hence the miſerable perplexity, in which ſpiritual and temporal affairs, heretics and orthodox believers, romans and barbarians, eunuchs and generals, women and prieſts, emperors and patriarchs, are embroiled. The empire was thrown from it's centre: the foundering, diſmaſted ſhip loſt it's ſteerſman; whoever could ſeize the helm managed

* The Hiſtory of Changes in the Government, Laws, and Minds of Men, during the period from the converſion of Conſtantine to the downfal of the weſtern empire, by an anonymous french writer, is executed with great induſtry and acuteneſs. A german tranſlation appeared at Leipſic in 1794.

it,

it, till another drove him away. Ye ancient romans, Sextus, Cato, Cicero, Brutus, Titus, Antonine, what would ye have ſaid of this new Rome, the imperial court at Conſtantinople, from it's commencement to it's downfal?

The eloquence, too, which this imperial chriſtian Rome was capable of producing, could nowiſe be compared with that of the ancient greeks and romans. Divine men, indeed, here exerciſed their elocution; patriarchs, biſhops, and prieſts: but to whom did they addreſs themſelves? on what did they diſcourſe? and what fruits could their higheſt eloquence produce? They had to explain to a ſtupid, depraved, ungovernable multitude, the kingdom of God, the refined maxims of a moraliſt, who ſtood alone in his day, and who certainly had nothing congenial with this mob. Far more attractive for it was it to hear the ſpiritual orator declaim on the depravity of the court, or the groſs luxury of the theatres, public games, amuſements, and female dreſs, or take part in the cabals of heretics, biſhops, prieſts, and monks. Goldentongued Chryſoſtom, how do I lament, that thy exuberant eloquence fell not on better times! That ſolitude, the companion of thy better days, was left for a ſplendid metropolis, which embittered thy life. Thy paſtoral zeal had wandered out of it's limits: the ſtorms of courtly and prieſtly cabals overwhelmed thee: expelled, and again reſtored, thou waſt reduced at laſt, to end thy days in poverty. Such was the fate of many worthy men in this voluptuous court: and, what was worſe, their zeal

itſelf was not without faults. As he, who, ſurrounded by infectious diſeaſes, inhales the contaminated air, if he eſcape the peſtilence, will at leaſt diſplay it's effects in his pallid countenance and languid limbs: ſo here, too many dangers and ſeductions aroſe on every ſide, for common prudence to avoid. The greater fame, however, is due to the ſmall number of thoſe, who, in the character of generals and emperors, or biſhops, patriarchs, and courtiers, ſhine like ſcattered ſtars in this obſcure ſulphureous ſky: but even their forms are hidden from us by the clouds.

Laſtly, if we contemplate the taſte in arts, ſcience, and manners, that ſpread from this firſt and greateſt chriſtian empire, we can call it nothing elſe than wretched, and barbarouſly pompous. After that Jupiter and Chriſt contended in the ſenate, in the time of Theodoſius, before the face of the goddeſs of Victory, for the poſſeſſion of the roman empire, and Jupiter loſt the day; the great monuments of ancient taſte, the temples and images of the gods, were ruined gradually or forcibly throughout the World: and the more chriſtian a country was, the more zealous was it in deſtroying all remains of the worſhip of the ancient demons. The origin and object of chriſtian churches forbad the erection of ſuch edifices as the former temples of idols: accordingly courts of juſtice, and places for holding aſſemblies, baſilicæ, were their models; and though a noble ſimplicity may be obſerved in the moſt ancient of them, of the time of Conſtantine, as they were in part compoſed of hea-

then fragments, and partly constructed amid the greatest monuments of art, yet even this simplicity is christian. The stolen columns were jumbled together without taste; and the wonder of christian art in Constantinople, the magnificent church of St. Sophia, was loaded with barbarian ornament. Abundant as were the treasures of antiquity heaped together in this Babel, it was impossible for grecian art, or grecian poetry, to flourish in it. We are astonished at the train, which, even in the tenth century, was obliged to attend the emperor, in war and peace, at home and at public worship, as described by a purpleborn slave of it himself *; and wonder, that such a kingdom stood so long.

This cannot be charged to the abuse of christianity; for Byzantium was formed from the beginning for a splendid, dissolute, beggarly state. From it could spring no Rome, which, rising amid oppressions, contests, and dangers, rendered itself the metropolis of the World: the new city was erected at the expense of Rome and the provinces, and immediately burdened with a mob, who lived in idleness and hypocrisy, by right of title or of flattery, on the beneficence and favour of the emperor; in other words, on the marrow of the empire. The new city lay in the lap of pleasure, in a delightful climate, in the centre of three quarters of the Globe. From Asia, Persia, India, and Egypt, she drew all the commodities of that dissolute

* Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Book II, *de Ceremoniis Aulæ Byzantinæ*, 'Of the Ceremonies of the Byzantine Court,' Lipsic, 1751.

pomp, which ſhe cheriſhed in herſelf, and diffuſed over the northweſtern world. Her harbour was filled with ſhips of all nations; and even in later times, when the arabs had deprived the grecian empire of Egypt and Aſia, the commerce of the World took the road of the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas, to ſupply the wants of ancient voluptuaries. Alexandria, Smyrna, Antioch; the ſhores of Greece abounding in harbours, with it's eſtabliſhments, cities, and arts; the Mediterranean with it's numerous iſlands; and ſtill more the volatile character of the greek nation; all contributed, to render the ſeat of the chriſtian emperor a receptacle of vices and follies: and what formerly promoted the welfare of Greece, now operated to it's detriment.

We will not on this account, however, detract from the ſmalleſt benefit, which this empire, ſo ſituate, and ſo conſtituted, has conferred on the World. It was long a mound, though a weak one, againſt the barbarians; many of whom loſt their rudeneſs from it's neighbourhood, it's trade, or in it's ſervice, and acquired a taſte for the arts, and refinement of manners. The beſt king of the goths, Theodoric, was educated in Conſtantinople: and we may thank the eaſtern empire, for all the good he did to Italy. From Conſtantinople more than one barbarian people received the ſeeds of civilization, letters, and chriſtianity: thus biſhop Ulphilas modified the greek alphabet for his goths on the Black ſea, and tranſlated the New Teſtament into their language: the ruſſians, bulgarians, and other ſlaviſh nations, acquired letters, chriſtianity,

tianity, and morals, from Conſtantinople, in a far milder way, than their weſtern brethren obtained them from the franks and ſaxons. The collection of roman laws, made by order of Juſtinian, defective and mangled as it is, remains an immortal record of the genuine ancient roman ſpirit, a logic of the active intellect, and a teſt for every better code. It was a benefit to the whole civilized World, that the grecian language and literature were preſerved in this empire, however defective the uſe that was made of them, till weſtern Europe was capable of receiving them from the hands of byzantine refugees. That the pilgrims and croiſaders of the middle ages found on their road to the holy ſepulchre a Conſtantinople, whence they returned to their caves, their caſtles, and their cloiſters, with many new ideas of ſplendour, civilization, and manners, in compenſation for much treacherous conduct, at leaſt remotely prepared other times for the weſt of Europe. The venetians and genoeſe learned their extenſive commerce in Alexandria and Conſtantinople, as they acquired their wealth chiefly from the ruins of this empire, and thence imported much that was uſeful into Europe. The ſilk manufacture came to us from Perſia through Conſtantinople: and for how much is the holy ſee, for how much Europe, as a counterpoiſe to that ſee, indebted to the eaſtern empire!

At length this proud, this wealthy, this magnificent Babylon fell: with all it's treaſures, and all it's ſplendour, it fell by ſtorm into the hands of it's ſavage conquerors. It had long been unable to protect

protect it's provinces: all Greece had been a prey to Alaric ſo early as the fifth century. Eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth, the barbarians preſſed on it, from time to time, cloſer and cloſer; and bands of ſtill greater barbarians often raged in the city. Temples were ſtormed; ſtatues and libraries were given to the flames: the empire was every where ſold and betrayed, as it had no better rewards for it's moſt faithful ſervants, than to put out their eyes, cut off their noſes and ears, or indeed bury them alive: for barbarity and voluptuouſneſs, flattery and the moſt inſolent arrogance, revolt and perfidy, reigned on this throne, all decorated with chriſtian orthodoxy. It's hiſtory, filled with lingering death, is a terrible monitory example for every government of eunuchs, prieſts, and women, in ſpite of all it's imperial pride and wealth, in ſpite of all it's pomp in arts and ſcience. There lie it's ruins; the moſt ingenious people upon Earth, the greeks, are become the moſt deſpicable, perfidious, ignorant, ſuperſtitious, wretched ſlaves of prieſts and monks, ſcarcely again ſuſceptible of the ancient grecian ſpirit. Thus ended the firſt and moſt magnificent *ſtate-chriſtianity*: may never ſuch appear again *!

* With heartfelt pleaſure we can here cite the third claſſical britiſh hiſtorian, the rival of Hume, and of Robertſon, whom ſometimes perhaps he excels, Gibbon; whoſe Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire is a finiſhed maſterpiece; though it ſeems to want, probably from the fault of the ſubject, that powerful charm of intereſt, with which Hume's hiſtorical works hurry us along. The cry that has been raiſed in England, however, againſt this learned and truly philoſophical work, as if the author were an enemy to the chriſtian religion, ſeems to me unjuſt: for Gibbon has ſpoken of chriſtianity, as of other matters in his hiſtory, with great mildneſs.

CHAPTER IV.

Progreſs of Chriſtianity in the Latin Provinces.

ROME was the metropolis of the World: from Rome iſſued the command, to tolerate, or to ſuppreſs the chriſtians: of neceſſity, therefore, it muſt very early have been one of the principal endeavours of the general body of chriſtians, to influence this centre of grandeur and of power.

The tolerance of the romans towards all the religions of the people they conquered is beyond diſpute: but for this, and the general ſtate of the roman government at that period, chriſtianity would not have ſpread ſo quickly, and ſo widely. It aroſe in a remote quarter, among a people deſpiſed, and become proverbial for ſuperſtition: wicked, fooliſh, and weak emperors ſat on the roman throne, ſo that the control of one allſeeing eye was wanting to the ſtate. The chriſtians were long comprehended under the name of jews, of whom there was a great number at Rome, as well as in all the roman provinces. Probably, therefore, it was the hatred of the jews themſelves, that firſt made the rejected chriſtians known to the romans; who, conſidering them as ſeceders from the religion of their forefathers, were led to think them either atheiſts, or, from their ſecret aſſemblies, egyptians, debaſing themſelves, like other myſtagogues, by ſuperſtition and barbarity. They were looked upon as a reprobate mob, on whom Nero firſt laid the blame

of

ſeen, and the belief of which, confided to him, would otherwiſe periſh; the martyr dies like a hero, his conſcience ſtrengthens him in pain and torment, and Heaven opens before his eyes. Thus every eyewitneſs of the firſt events of chriſtianity could die, when he found it neceſſary for him, to ſeal their truth with his blood. To deny them, would have been to contradict facts, which he himſelf had ſeen; and every man of probity would rather ſacrifice his life, in a caſe of neceſſity, than do this. But ſuch witneſſes, and ſuch martyrs, the commencement only of chriſtianity could have had; of theſe there could not be many; and of their exit out of the World, as well as of their lives, we know little or nothing.

The caſe was different with the witneſſes, who bore teſtimony centuries later, or hundreds of miles diſtant, to whom the hiſtory of chriſtianity came only as a report, as tradition, or as a written account. Theſe could not be admitted as authentic witneſſes, ſince it was the teſtimony of others, or rather their faith in it, which they ſealed with their blood. Now as this was the caſe with all the chriſtian converts out of Judea; we cannot avoid wondering, that ſo very much was built, even in the remoteſt, the latin provinces, on the teſtimony of the blood of theſe witneſſes, conſequently on a tradition, which they received from far, and could not eaſily prove. Even after the writings compoſed in the eaſt had reached theſe remote regions at the end of the firſt century, many did not underſtand them in the original, and were of courſe obliged

obliged to be ſatisfied with the teſtimony of their teacher, and the citing of a tranſlation. And how ſeldom did the weſtern teachers in general refer to the Scripture, while the orientals, even in their councils, determined more from the collective opinions of preceding fathers of the church, than from the Scriptures themſelves! Thus tradition and faith, for which men died, were ſoon the moſt eminent and victorious argument of chriſtianity: the more ignorant, poor, and diſtant, the community was, the more muſt ſuch a tradition, as delivered by their teacher and biſhop, and the teſtimony of martyrs, as witneſſes of the church, be received as it were on their word.

And yet, if we conſider the origin of chriſtianity, it could not eaſily be propagated otherwiſe; for, being founded on a fact, like all other facts it demanded narration, tradition, faith. The fact goes from mouth to mouth, till recorded by writing it becomes a confirmed, fixed tradition, ſubject to general examination, and compariſon with other traditions. The ocular witneſſes are dead; happy therefore if the tradition tell us, that they ſealed their teſtimony with their blood; human faith demands no more.

And thus the firſt chriſtian altars were confidently erected upon graves. In cemeteries the chriſtians aſſembled: in the catacombs themſelves were placed the altars, on which they celebrated the lord's ſupper, rehearſed their creed, and vowed to be as faithful to it, as thoſe who were gone before them. The firſt churches were either built

over

over ſepulchres, or the bodies of martyrs were brought and placed under their altar, till at length a ſingle bone was forced to ſuffice for it's conſecration. By degrees, what once aroſe from the circumſtances of the caſe, what had been the origin and ſeal of a ſociety of chriſtian converts, degenerated into mere form and ceremony. Baptiſm alſo, on occaſion of which a confeſſion of faith was made, was celebrated over the graves of believers; till at length baptiſteries were erected over them, or believers, as a ſign that they died in the faith, into which they had been baptiſed, were interred under baptiſteries. One aroſe from the other, and almoſt the whole form of eccleſiaſtical ceremonies in the weſt ſprung from this *profeſſion of faith and ſepulchral worſhip* *.

At any rate there was ſomething very affecting in this covenant of truth and obedience entered into at the grave. When, as Pliny ſays, the chriſtians aſſembled before day, to ſing hymns to their Chriſt as to a god, and to bind themſelves with the ſacrament, as with an oath, to purity of manners, and the exerciſe of moral duties; the ſtill graves of their brethren muſt have been to them an impreſſive ſymbol of conſtancy unto death, and a confirmation of their belief in that reſurrection, which their lord and teacher, a martyr alſo, had

* See the works of Ciampini, Aringhii, Bingham, and others, on this ſubject. A hiſtory of theſe things, taken from a view of the moſt ancient churches and monuments themſelves, and connected throughout with eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, would exhibit the whole in the cleareſt light.

firſt

firſt attained. To them this terreſtrial life muſt have appeared tranſitory; death, as an imitation of his, honourable and pleaſant; a future life, almoſt more certain than the preſent: and ſuch perſuaſions form the ſpirit of the moſt ancient chriſtian writings. Still ſuch inſtitutions muſt inevitably have excited an intemperate love of martyrdom; and men, weary of this tranſient earthly life, contended for the baptiſm of blood and fire, as the chriſtian crown of glory, with uſeleſs zeal. It was equally inevitable, that in time almoſt divine honours ſhould be paid to the bones of the dead, and that they ſhould be ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed to produce ecſtaſies, heal the ſick, and work other miracles. Leaſt of all was it to be avoided, that this army of chriſtian heroes ſhould in a ſhort time take poſſeſſion of the whole Heaven of the church; and as their bodies were brought into the nave of the church with adoration, their ſouls ſhould diſpoſſeſs all the other benefactors of mankind of their ſeats: ſo that a *new chriſtian mythology* commenced: the mythology, that we behold over altars; the mythology, of which we read in legends.

2. As in chriſtianity every thing reſted on profeſſion, this profeſſion on a creed, and this creed on tradition; either miraculous gifts, or a ſtrict *eccleſiaſtical diſcipline*, were neceſſary to maintain order and government. With this inſtitution aroſe the authority of the biſhops; and to preſerve unity of faith, in other words, a connexion between many communities, councils and ſynods were requiſite. If theſe were not unanimous, or found oppoſition

in other countries, appeals were made to the moſt reſpected biſhops, as *arbitrators*; whence it could not ultimately fail, that one *chief ariſtocrat* ſhould gradually ariſe out of this apoſtolical ariſtocracy. Who muſt become this chief? The biſhop of Jeruſalem was too remote, and too poor: his dioceſe was too much ſtraitened by other apoſtolical biſhops: he ſat on his Golgotha, in a manner out of the circle of the ſovereignty of the World. The biſhops of Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and laſtly of Conſtantinople alſo, ſtepped forward; and owing to the poſture of affairs, the biſhop of Rome carried it from them all, even from his moſt eager rival at Conſtantinople. The byzantine patriarch was too near the throne of the emperor, who could exalt or depreſs him at will, ſo that he could become nothing more than the ſtate-prelate of the court. On the other hand, after the emperor had left Rome, and ſeated himſelf on the frontier of Europe, a thouſand circumſtances combined, to give the primacy of the church to this ancient metropolis of the World. Nations had been accuſtomed for ages, to venerate the name of Rome; and in Rome it was imagined, that the ſpirit of univerſal dominion hovered over it's ſeven hills. Here, according to the chronicles of the church, many martyrs had born their teſtimony, and the greateſt of the apoſtles, Peter and Paul, received their crowns. At an early period, too, was propagated the tale of Peter's epiſcopal rule over this ancient apoſtolical church; and the uninterrupted atteſtation of his ſucceſſors was quickly demonſtrated. Now as the keys

keys of the kingdom of Heaven were delivered expreſsly to this apoſtle, and the indeſtructible edifice of the church was founded on the rock of his profeſſion; how natural was it, that Rome ſhould take the place of Antioch or Jeruſalem, and prepare to be conſidered as the mother church of ſovereign chriſtendom! The biſhop of Rome early enjoyed honour and precedence, even in councils, before others more learned and powerful: in diſputes he was employed as a friendly arbitrator; and what had long been a poſt of free choice in a council became in time a claim of right; his inſtructive voice was conſidered as deciſive. The ſituation of Rome in the centre of the roman World conferred on it's biſhops a wide field, weſt, ſouth, and northwards, for counſels and regulations; particularly as the imperial greek throne was too remote, and ſoon became too feeble, to control them with much effect. The fine provinces of the roman empire, Italy with it's iſlands, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and part of Germany, into which chriſtianity had been early introduced, lay round it as a garden requiring aid and advice: farther to the north were barbarians, whoſe rude countries were ſoon to be converted into fertile lands of chriſtendom. Here being no powerful competition, much more was to be done, and to be gained, than in the eaſtern provinces, thickly ſet with biſhops, which were ſoon ravaged and exhauſted by ſpeculations, oppoſitions, and conteſts, by the diſſolute tyranny of the emperors, and by the irruption of the mohammedan arabs, and other nations ſtill more ſavage. The barbarian

frankneſs of the europeans was much more favourable to it, than the inſincerity of the poliſhed greeks, or the fanaticiſm of the aſiatics. Chriſtianity, there in a ſtate of ebullition, and occaſionally appearing as a febrile delirium of the underſtanding, was cooled by it's regulations and preſcriptions in the more temperate climate of the weſt; without which it would probably have ſunk into that ſtate of debility, which we obſerve in the eaſt ſucceeding the mad ſtretch of it's powers.

The biſhop of Rome unqueſtionably did much for chriſtendom: mindful of the roman name, he not only conquered a World by converſion, but eſtabliſhed in it, by means of laws, manners, and cuſtoms, a more durable, powerful, and intimate ſway, than that of ancient Rome. The romiſh ſee never contended for the palm of learning: this it relinquiſhed to others, to the alexandrian, the milaneſe, the hipponian even, or any other that coveted it: but to ſubject the moſt learned ſees, and to rule the World, not by philoſophy, but by policy, tradition, eccleſiaſtical law, and ceremonies, were it's aims: and could not fail to be ſo, as itſelf reſted ſolely on ceremonies and tradition. Thus from Rome proceeded the numerous rites of the weſtern church, relating to the celebration of feſtivals, the claſſing of prieſts, the inſtitution of ſacraments, prayers, and oblations for the dead; altars, chalices, tapers, faſts, praying to the mother of God, the celibacy of prieſts and monks, the invocation of ſaints, the worſhiping of images; proceſſions, maſſes for the ſoul, bells, canonization, tranſubſtantiation,

the

the adoration of the hoſt, &c.; rites, that aroſe partly from ancient circumſtances, in which the enthuſiaſtic conceptions of the orientals had often great ſhare, partly from accommodation to local uſages of the weſt, and chiefly of Rome, incorporated by degrees in the great eccleſiaſtical ritual *. Such weapons now conquered the World: they were the maſter-keys of Heaven and Earth. Before them bowed nations, that would not have ſhrunk from the ſword: roman ceremonies had more weight with them, than the ſpeculations of the Eaſt. Theſe eccleſiaſtical laws, it muſt be confeſſed, exhibit a fearful contraſt to the ancient roman policy: ſtill they ultimately ſerved, to convert the maſſy ſceptre into a leſs weighty paſtoral ſtaff, and the barbarous cuſtom of heathen nations by degrees into a milder chriſtian law. The chief ſhepherd at Rome, after having laborioufly attained the ſupremacy, muſt have interfered more in the affairs of the weſt, even againſt his will, than any of his colleagues in the eaſt or weſt could do; and if the propagation of chriſtianity be in itſelf a merit, this is his in an eminent degree. England and the greater part of Germany, the northern kingdoms, Poland, and Hungary, became chriſtian through the means of his meaſures, and his nuncios: nay, that Europe probably was not for ever to be diſturbed by huns,

* I doubt whether a true hiſtory of theſe rites and inſtitutions, carrying conviction on the face of it, can be written without an accurate knowledge of Rome, with it's local circumſtances, and the character of the people. What in Rome is evident to the view, is often looked for under the Earth.

ſaracens, tatars, turks, and mungals, is partly alſo his work. If all the chriſtian races of emperors, kings, princes, counts, and knights, ſhould vaunt the merits, by which they formerly acquired ſovereignty over nations, the triple-crowned great lama at Rome, born on the ſhoulders of unarmed prieſts, may bleſs them all with his ſacred croſier, and ſay, 'but for me you would never have become what you are.' The preſervation of antiquity, likewiſe, is his work; and Rome deſerves to be the peaceful temple of it's preſerved treaſures.

3. *Thus the church formed itſelf with as much locality in the weſt, as in the eaſt.* Here, alſo, was a latin Egypt, the chriſtian part of Africa, where, as in the other, many african doctrines aroſe. The ſtrong expreſſions uſed by Tertullian reſpecting ſatisfaction, by Cyprian reſpecting the penance of ſinners, by Auſtin reſpecting grace and freewill, inſinuated themſelves into the ſyſtem of the church: and though the biſhop of Rome commonly purſued the middle track, he ſometimes wanted learning, at others authority, to ſteer the veſſel of the church on the wide ocean of doctrines. The learned and pious Pelagius, for inſtance, was much too ſeverely treated by Auſtin and Jerome: Auſtin contended againſt the manicheans only with a more refined ſpecies of manicheiſm; and what in this extraordinary man frequently proceeded alone from the fire of his imagination, and the heat of diſpute, paſſed into the ſyſtem of the church in too violent a flame. Yet peace be to thine aſhes, thou great contender for what thou calledſt the unity of the

faith. Thy laborious taſk is ended; and probably it's effect extended too far, and too powerfully, through the ſucceeding ages of chriſtianity.

Still I muſt not paſs over the firſt order introduced into the weſt, that of the benedictines. Every attempt to naturalize in the weſt the monaſtic life of the eaſt, happily for Europe, was oppoſed by the climate, till this moderate order eſtabliſhed itſelf, under the favour of Rome, on mount Caſſino. It adopted better clothing and diet, than the hot and abſtemious eaſt required: it's rule, originally formed by a layman for the laity, alſo enjoined labour; and thus it was of particular utility in various wild and barren diſtricts of Europe. How many fine lands in all countries have been poſſeſſed by benedictines, who had partly reduced them into a ſtate of cultivation! In every department of literature, too, they did all, that monaſtic induſtry could accompliſh: individuals have written whole libraries; and congregations have made it their buſineſs, to cultivate and enlighten the deſerts of the literary World, by editing and illuſtrating numberleſs works, particularly of the middle ages. But for the order of St. Benedict, probably the greater part of the writings of antiquity would have been loſt to us; and when we come to ſainted abbots, biſhops, cardinals, and popes, the number of them taken from this order, and their labours, are ſufficient of themſelves to compoſe a library. Gregory the great, alone, a benedictine, did more than ten ſpiritual or temporal ſovereigns: and to this order we are

indebted alſo for the preſervation of the ancient church-muſic, which has had ſo much effect on men's minds.

Farther we ſhall not proceed. Before we ſpeak of the effect produced on the barbarians by chriſtianity, we muſt take a view of the barbarians themſelves, how they entered in great bodies, one after another, into the roman empire, founded kingdoms, moſtly confirmed by Rome itſelf, and whatever may be farther deduced from this for the hiſtory of man.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XVIII.

AS when mountain torrents, ſwelled to a flood in ſome lofty valley, at length burſt down it's feeble dam, and inundate the plains below, wave breaks on wave, ſtream follows ſtream, till all becomes one wide ſea, which, ſlowly ſubſiding, leaves every where traces of devaſtation, obliterated in time by flouriſhing paſtures animated with fertility; ſo followed the celebrated irruptions of the northern nations into the provinces of the roman empire, and ſuch were their effects. Long were theſe nations reſiſted, checked, occaſionally admitted as allies or ſubſidiaries, frequently betrayed and abuſed; till at length they did themſelves juſtice, demanded or conquered lands, and in ſome degree crowded upon one another. Our object muſt be, therefore, not ſo much to examine into the juſtice of the pretenſions made by each of theſe nations to the country yielded to it, or conquered by it *, as

* Gatterer's *Abriſs der Univerſalhiſtorie*, 'Sketch of Univerſal Hiſtory,' Gottingen, 1773, p. 449, and following, gives an accurate, though conciſe account of theſe migrations and irruptions, and of the frequent change of boundary that took place. Maſcon's *Geſchichte der Deutſchen*, 'Hiſtory of the Germans,'

as to obſerve the uſe made of the country, and the new form thus given to Europe. Every where new nations were grafted on the old ſtock; what buds, what fruits did they produce for mankind?

CHAPTER I.

Kingdoms of the Viſigoths, Sueves, Alans, and Vandals.

395. THE viſigoths were called in by two treacherous miniſters of the eaſtern and weſtern empires, Ruffinus and Stilicho; in the former of which they ravaged Thrace and Greece; in the latter, Italy. Alaric beſieged Rome; and as Honorius did not keep his word with him, he twice took the city, and at laſt gave it up to plunder. Laden with booty, the king of the viſigoths advanced to the ſtrait of Sicily, and was contemplating the conqueſt of Africa, the granary of Italy, when death ſtopped the progreſs of his victories. The valiant robber was interred in a river with many things of great value. His ſucceſſor Adolphus, or Ataulf, the emperor contrived to ſend into Spain and Gaul, againſt the vandals, alans, and ſueves, who had broken into thoſe provinces, and thus freed Italy from his preſence. Here,

400.

412.

mans,' Leipſic, 1727, 1737, Krauſe's *Geſchichte der wichtigſten Begebenheiten des heutigen Europa*, 'Hiſtory of the moſt important Events of modern Europe,' and others, have entered into them more at large.

after

after having been again impoſed upon, and at length married to Placidia, the daughter of the emperor Theodoſius, he founded the firſt viſigothic kingdom. The fine towns of Narbonne, Toulouſe, and Bourdeaux, belonged to him, and ſome of his ſucceſſors extended their poſſeſſions in Gaul ſtill farther. But as here the franks were too near them, and the catholic biſhops of the country were treacherous and illdiſpoſed to the arian goths, they turned their arms with more ſucceſs toward the Pyrenees; and after long wars with the alans, ſueves, and vandals, and the complete expulſion of the romans from this country, they at length gained poſſeſſion of the fine peninſula of Spain and Portugal, with part of ſouthern Gaul and of the african coaſt. 414. 585.

Of the kingdom of the ſueves in Spain, during the 178 years it continued, we have nothing to ſay: after a ſeries of loſſes and misfortunes, it loſt even it's name, and was abſorbed in the ſpaniſh gothic kingdom. 407 to 585.

The viſigoths rendered themſelves more memorable, when they entered this country. Already in Gaul, while Toulouſe was the ſeat of their kings, Eric cauſed a book of laws to be written *; and his ſucceſſor Alaric compoſed a code from the laws and writings of roman juriſts, which preceded that of Juſtinian †. It was of 506.

* Pithou's *Codex Legum Wiſigothorum*, 'Viſigothic Code of Laws,' Paris, 1579.

† Schulting's *Juriſprud. Ante-juſtinian.*, 'Juriſprudence prior to Juſtinian,' p. 683: Gothofred's *Proleg. Cod. Theodoſ.*, 'Preface to the Theodoſian Code,' c. 6, 7.

force

force among ſeveral german nations, burgundians, angles, franks, and lombards, as an abſtract of the roman law; and alſo preſerved to us a part of the theodoſian code, though the goths themſelves were more inclined to adhere to their own laws and cuſtoms. On the other ſide of the Pyrenees they entered a country, which had been under the romans a flouriſhing province, full of towns, civil inſtitutions, and trade. When Rome was ſinking in luxury, Spain had given to the metropolis of the World a ſeries of celebrated men, whoſe writings even at that time diſplayed ſome marks of the ſpaniſh character *. Chriſtianity, too, reached Spain at an early period; and as the ſpirit of the people, from a ſingular mixture of various nations in a ſecluded region, was prone to the romantic and extraordinary, miraculous ſtories and penances, abſtinence and retirement from the World, orthodoxy, martyrdom, and eccleſiaſtical magnificence diſplayed over the graves of ſaints, were ſo much to their taſte, that Spain, partly from it's ſituation likewiſe, ſoon become a true chriſtian palace. From Spain it was eaſy to apply for council, or to give advice, to the biſhop of Rome, of Hippo, of Alexandria, or of Jeruſalem; as it was to perſecute heretics, in or out of the country, and even purſue them as far as Paleſtine. Accordingly the ſpaniards were declared enemies to heretics from the begin-

* Lucan, Mela, Columella, the two Senecas, Quintilian, Martial, Florus, and others, were ſpaniards. See the Hiſtory of Spaniſh Poetry by Velaſquez, a german tranſlation of which was publiſhed at Gottingen in 1769.

ning; and the priſcillianiſts, manicheans, arians, jews, pelagians, neſtorians, and others, experienced to their coſt the warmth of their orthodoxy. The early hierarchy of the biſhops of this apoſtolical peninſula, with their frequent and rigid councils, afforded a pattern to the romiſh ſee itſelf; and if France afterwards aided this chief ſhepherd with the temporal arm, Spain had previouſly aſſiſted him with the ſpiritual.

Into ſuch a kingdom, of ancient civilization and a firmly eſtabliſhed eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, came the frank arian goths, who found it by no means eaſy to withſtand the yoke of the catholic biſhops. Long, indeed, they carried their heads erect; they had recourſe both to mildneſs, and to perſecution; and endeavoured to unite the two churches. But in vain: the prevailing roman catholic church never gave way, and at length the arians were condemned in ſeveral councils at Toledo with as much rigour, as if never one of this ſect had been king of Spain. After king Leovigild, the laſt of gothic ſpirit, was dead, and Reccard, his ſon, had reconciled himſelf to the catholic church, the laws of the kingdom, alſo, framed in an aſſembly of 586 biſhops, received the impreſſion of the epiſcopal and monaſtic character. Corporal puniſhment, which the germans held in abhorrence, began to prevail in them; and the ſpirit of a tribunal for heretics became perceptible in them, long before the name of an inquiſition was known *.

Thus

* The reſolutions of the eccleſiaſtical councils may be found in Ferrara's hiſtory of Spain, as well as in the great collection entitled

Thus the eſtabliſhment of the goths was imperfect and fettered in this fine country, where, ſurrounded by ſeas and mountains, they might have formed a noble and laſting kingdom, had they poſſeſſed ſufficient ſpirit and underſtanding, and bowed neither before the church nor the climate. But the force of that torrent, which under Alaric once foamed through Greece and Italy, had long abated: the ſpirit of Adolphus, who had ſworn to demoliſh Rome, and erect a new gothic city, to be the head of the World, on it's ruins, was curbed from the moment he ſuffered himſelf to be led into a corner of the empire, and aſcend the nuptial bed with a Placidia. The conqueſt proceeded ſlowly, as germans were to purchaſe the provinces from germans with their blood: and when, after a tedious conteſt againſt the church, the biſhops and the nobles of the realm, two ſuch diſcordant extremes, at length coaleſced, the time for eſtabliſhing a firm gothic empire in Spain was gone by. Hitherto the kings of theſe people had been choſen by the nation; but now the biſhops rendered their office hereditary, and their perſons ſacred. The diets were converted into eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies, and the epiſcopal order was made the firſt in the kingdom. The loyalty of the nobles of the court was diſſipated in pomp and luxury; the courage of the once valiant warriors, among whom the land was divided, became nerveleſs in their fertile do-

entitled *Eſpana Sagrada*, &c. The viſigothic laws are to be ſeen in Pithou, in Lindenbrog's *Cod. Leg. Ant.* 'Codes of ancient Law,' and other works.

mains;

mains; and the morals and virtue of the monarchs were abſorbed by a prerogative eſtabliſhed on the baſe of religion. Thus the kingdom lay expoſed to the enemy on every ſide: and when the aſſailants arrived from the african ſhores, ſuch terrour ſtalked before them, that one ſucceſsful battle was ſufficient to give the ſwarming arabs the larger and finer part of Spain within the courſe of two years. Many of the biſhops proved traitors: the diſſolute nobles ſubmitted, fled, or fell. The 712. kingdom, which, deſtitute of an internal conſtitution, ſhould have repoſed on the perſonal valour and martial ſpirit of it's goths, was defenceleſs, when this valour and this ſpirit were no more. Much may be learned with regard to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and rites from the Spaniſh councils: Toledo was, and long remained, the grave of the civil government of Spain *.

As the valiant remains of theſe betrayed and defeated goths again iſſued from their mountains, and in ſeven or eight hundred years ſcarcely recovered by three thouſand ſeven hundred battles, what two years and one victory had taken from them; could the ſingular compound of chriſtian and gothic ſpirit appear otherwiſe than as a ſhadow from the grave? Ancient chriſtians reconquered their land long defecrated by the infidel ſaracens: every

* I have never ſeen the original inquiry of a ſwede concerning the Cauſes of the ſpeedy Decline of this kingdom. Iſerhielm *de Regno Weſtro-Gothorum in Hiſpania*, 'On the kingdom of the Viſigoths in Spain,' Upſal, 1705, contains only academical declamations.

church

church they were able to conſecrate anew was to them a valuable prize of victory. Thus biſhoprics and convents without number were revived, founded, and extolled as the triumphal honours of the croſs and the ſword; and for this the ſlow progreſs of the conqueſt afforded ample time. It happened too, principally, in the moſt flouriſhing periods of chivalry and the popedom. Some kingdoms, that had been taken from the moors, the king offered to the pope as fiefs, that he might reign in them as a genuine ſon of the ancient church. Every where the biſhops were his partners in authority; and the chriſtian knights, who with him had conquered the kingdoms, were *grandes e ricos hombres*, a ſuperiour order of nobility, who divided the new chriſtian realm with the king.

As jews and arians had been expelled by the orthodox of former times, ſo now were jews and mohammedans by thoſe of modern days: thus a fine country, once flouriſhing under various people, was gradually converted into a pleaſant deſert. The pillars of this ancient and modern gothic chriſtian conſtitution of the ſtate are ſtill ſtanding over all Spain; and Time has placed many between them, without being able to change the outline or foundation of the building. It is true, the throne of the catholic king no longer ſtands by the ſide of that of the biſhop in Toledo; and the holy inquiſition, ſince it's eſtabliſhment, has become rather the tool of deſpotiſm, than of blind devotion: yet in this ſecluded romantic land of fanaticiſm ſo many ſtrong fortreſſes of knights have been erected,

that

that the bones of St. James appear to reſt even more ſecurely in Compoſtella, than thoſe of St. Peter in Rome. More than fifty biſhops and archbiſhops, and upwards of three thouſand convents, moſt of them wealthy, enjoy the ſacrifice of a kingdom, which has propagated it's orthodoxy with fire and ſword, with treachery and with bloodhounds, in two other quarters of the Globe: in ſpaniſh America alone almoſt as many of the epiſcopal order are enthroned in all the pomp of the church. In the department of letters, the ſpaniards cloſely followed the romans in ſacred poetry, polemics, and canon law; and theſe were ſucceeded by expoſitions of Scripture and legends in ſuch number, that even their comedies and farces, their dances and bull-fights, could not diſpenſe with a mixture of religion. The epiſcopal gothic juriſprudence intimately involved itſelf with the romiſh canon law, and on this all the acuteneſs of the nation was ſo whetted into ſubtilties, that here too we have a deſert producing thorns inſtead of fruit *. Laſtly, though in ſome degree the ſhadow only remains of thoſe ſuperiour poſts about the court and crown, which were at firſt perſonal offices merely among the goths, as among other germans, but afterwards as dignities of the realm ſucked the marrow of the land for half a chiliad; the kingly power having had the addreſs on the one hand to ally itſelf with

* The ſpaniſh commentators, both on the roman law, and on the *ſiette partidas*, the *leges de toro*, the *autos y acuerdos del concejo real*, form a numerous body, in which all the acumen of the nation is exhauſted.

the pope, on the other to abate the pride of the nobles, and curtail their authority: ſtill, as incongruous principles of this kind enter into the groundwork of the ſtate, and are interwoven with the character of the nation itſelf, this fine country will long remain in all probability a more temperate european Africa, a gothico-mooriſh chriſtian ſtate.

The vandals, preſſed upon by the viſigoths and ſpaniards, paſſed into Africa with the remains of the alans, and there formed the firſt neſt of chriſtian pirates, more wealthy and powerful than any of their mohammedan ſucceſſors afterwards became. Genſeric, their king, one of the moſt valiant barbarians the Earth ever beheld, in a few years made himſelf maſter of the whole of the fertile coaſt of Africa, from the lybian deſerts to the ſtrait of Gibraltar, with an army by no means numerous; and created a naval force, with which this numidian lion plundered all the coaſts of the Mediterranean, from Greece and Illyria to the pillars of Hercules, and beyond them as far as Gallicia; ſeized on the baleario iſlands, Sardinia, and part of Sicily; and ſacked Rome, the metropolis of the World. Ten days he ſpent in deliberately and completely ſtripping this city, and then retired with the golden covering of the capitol, the ancient ſpoils of the temple of Jeruſalem, immenſe treaſures in works of art and precious things, and a multitude of captives, of whom he ſcarcely knew how to diſpoſe, and among whom were an empreſs and her two daughters. All this booty he ſucceſsfully conveyed to his new Carthage,

429 to 439.

455.

except

except a part of the treaſure, which was ſwallowed up by the ſea. The elder of the emperor's daughters, Eudoxia, he married to his ſon; the younger he ſent back, with her mother: and in the whole of his conduct he proved himſelf ſuch a brave and able monſter, as to be worthy of the friendſhip and alliance of the great Attila, who affrighted, conquered, and rendered tributary the World, from the borders of the Lena in Aſia to the banks of the Rhine. Juſt toward his ſubjects, ſtrict in his manners, continent, temperate, cruel only when moved by anger or ſuſpicion, and always active, always vigilant, Genſeric ſpent a long and proſperous life, and left to his two ſons, a flouriſhing kingdom, in which the treaſures of the weſt had been collected. 477.

His laſt will determined the fate of his realm. Conformably to this, the oldeſt member of his whole family was always to ſucceed to the throne, as he muſt have enjoyed the moſt time for experience; and this very circumſtance threw the apple of diſcord among his deſcendants. Thenceforward the oldeſt of the family was never ſecure of his life, as every younger member was eager to be the oldeſt: thus brothers and couſins murdered one another; each feared, or envied, the reſt; and as the ſpirit of the founder was inherited by none of his ſucceſſors, his vandals ſunk into all the indolence and licentiouſneſs of the african climes. Their permanent encampment, which ſhould have foſtered their ancient courage, became the ſeat of play and luxury; and after a period of time ſcarcely equal to that

during which Genſeric himſelf had reigned, the whole kingdom was overturned in a ſingle campaign. The eighth king, Gelimer, was carried to Conſtantinople, with his plundered treaſures, in all the pomp of barbarian triumph, and died as a peaſant: his captived vandals were tranſported to fortreſſes on the confines of Perſia, and the remains of the nation were loſt. Thus vaniſhed, as an enchanted palace with all it's treaſury, this wonderful kingdom, coins of which are ſtill caſually found in the ſoil of Afric. The veſſels of Solomon's temple, which Genſeric had taken from Rome, were carried a third time in triumph at Conſtantinople; thence they reviſited Jeruſalem, as preſents to a chriſtian church; and ſince they have probably been diſperſed over all the World as coins, impreſſed with ſome arabic ſentence.

534.

Thus wander ſacred things; thus vaniſh kingdoms; thus nations and times revolve. It would have been a matter of no ſmall importance, had this vandal kingdom been capable of maintaining it's ground in Africa: a great part of european, aſiatic, and african hiſtory, nay the whole courſe of european civilization, would have been changed by it. At preſent the memory of this people is ſcarcely to be traced in the name of a ſingle ſpaniſh province *.

* Mannert's *Geſchichte der Vandalen*, 'Hiſtory of the Vandals,' Leipſic, 1785, is a juvenile eſſay, not unworthy of the man, who has erected a laſting memorial to his fame in his *Geographie der Griechen und Roemer*, 'Geography of the Greeks and Romans.'

CHAPTER II.

Kingdoms of the Oſtrogoths and Lombards.

BEFORE we enter upon the conſideration of the lombards and oſtrogoths, we muſt caſt our eyes for a moment on that meteor in the horizon of Europe, that ſcourge in the hand of God, the terrour of the World, *Attila, king of the huns.* We have already obſerved, that the eruption of the huns from Tatary was the real occaſion of that laſt great 376. movement of all the german nations, which put an end to the roman empire. The power of the huns in Europe aroſe to it's moſt tremendous height under Attila: to him the emperors of the eaſt were tributary: he deſpiſed them as the 433. ſlaves of their own ſervants, received from them annually 2100 pounds weight of gold, 447. himſelf clad in plain linen. Goths, gepides, alans, herules, acazires, thuringians, and ſlavians, were his ſervants: he dwelt in a wooden houſe, in a village, in the midſt of a deſert, in the northern part of Pannonia*. While his gueſts and companions

* The perſonal traits of Attila are taken chiefly from the embaſſy of Priſcus to him, from which we cannot with confidence draw a picture of him through the whole of his life. Many illuſtrations on this head, and of the manners of the people, are collected from F. C. J. Fiſcher; who publiſhed an old poem, diſcovered by him, 'On the firſt Expedition of Attila,' *De prima Expeditione Attilæ*, Leipſic, 1780, with remarks;

panions were ſerved in veſſels of gold, he drank out of a wooden cup, and wore not ſo much as a ſingle golden ornament, or precious ſtone, even on his ſword, or on the bridle of his horſe. Juſt and equitable, extremely kind to his ſubjects, but miſtruſtful of his enemies, and haughty toward the haughty romans; he ſuddenly burſt forth, excited probably by Genſeric, king of the vandals, with an army of five or ſix hundred thouſand men of
450. all nations, directed his courſe weſtward, traverſed Germany, paſſed the Rhine, and extended his ravages into the midſt of Gaul. Every thing trembled before him, till at length an army of all the weſtern nations collected, and advanced againſt him. With the prudence of a conſummate general, Attila retreated through the plain of Chalons, where his paſſage was free; romans, goths, latins, armoricans, breons, burgundians, ſaxons, alans, and franks, drew together to oppoſe him: he himſelf gave orders for battle: the fight was bloody, numbers fell on the field, and ſome trifling circumſtances decided the fate of the day. Attila repaſſed the
452. Rhine unpurſued; and the following year returned, croſſed the Alps, traverſed Italy, deſtroyed Aquileia, plundered Milan, burned Pavia, and fell upon Rome, that he might at once make a complete end of the roman empire. Leo, the biſhop of Rome, came to meet him, and with tears intreated him to ſpare the city: he likewiſe viſited

marks; and a work 'On the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Europeans, in the fifth and ſixth Centuries,' *Sitten und Gebræuche der Europæer im 5 und 6 Jahrhundert*, Frankfort, 1784.

him

him in his camp at Mantua, and prevailed upon him to leave Italy.

The king of the huns returned over the Alps, and was meditating revenge for the battle he had loſt in Gaul, when death ſtopped his career. His huns interred him with loud lamentations; and with him ſunk their fearful power. His 454.
ſon Ellak died ſoon after him; his empire fell to pieces; and the remains of his people returned to Aſia, or were deſtroyed. This Attila is the king *Etzel* celebrated in german ſong; the hero, before whoſe table the poets of many countries ſang the deeds of their forefathers: he too is the monſter repreſented on coins and in pictures with horns, nay whoſe whole nation has been made a brood of elves and goblins. Happily Leo accompliſhed, what no army could have performed, and preſerved Europe from a ſtate of calmuc ſervitude; for that the ſoldiers of Attila were mungals, their government, manners, and way of life, evince.

The kingdom of the *herules*, likewiſe, muſt not be paſſed over unnoticed, for by it the whole weſtern empire was brought to an end. Theſe, with other german nations, had long ſerved as mercenaries in the armies of the romans; and when, from the increaſing neceſſities of the empire, their pay was diſcontinued, they took care to remunerate themſelves. A third part of the lands of Italy was given them to cultivate; and a fortunate adventurer, Odoacer, the leader of the ſcirri, rugi, and herules, became the firſt king of that country. Romulus, the laſt of the emperors, fell into his 476.

hands; and as the youth and beauty of this prince excited his compaſſion, he allowed him an annual income, with one of the villas of Lucullus in Campania. Seventeen years Odoacer governed Italy, as low down as Sicily, with great merit, though the country was diſtreſſed by the greateſt public calamities, till the plunder of ſuch noble poſſeſſions tempted Theodoric, king of the oſtrogoths. This young hero obtained the gift of the kingdom of Italy from the byzantine court, and overcame Odoacer, who, refuſing to keep an ignominious treaty, was murdered.

Thus began the ſovereignty of the oſtrogoths.

493. The founder of this kingdom, Theodoric, known in popular ſtory by the name of Dietrich of Bern, was poliſhed and humane. He had been educated as a hoſtage at Conſtantinople, and performed conſiderable ſervices to the eaſtern empire. There the dignities of a patriarch and conſul had already been conferred upon him; and he had been honoured with a ſtatue before the imperial palace. But Italy was the field of his juſter fame; an equitable and peaceful reign. Since the time of Marcus Antoninus this part of the roman world had not been ruled with more wiſdom and goodneſs, than he governed Italy and Illyricum, part of Germany and Gaul, and Spain alſo as regent. For a long time, likewiſe, he held the ſcales between the viſigoths and franks. Notwithſtanding his triumph at Rome, he arrogated not to himſelf the imperial title, and was contented with the name of *Flavius*: but he exerciſed all the authority of

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an emperor, fed the roman people, reſtored to the city it's ancient games, and, being an arian, ſent the biſhop of Rome as his ambaſſador to Conſtantinople even in behalf of arianiſm. As long as he held the ſceptre, peace reigned among the barbarians; for the viſigothic, frank, vandal, and thuringian kingdoms, were allied to him by treaty, or by blood. Under him Italy revived; as he encouraged agriculture and the arts, and left to every people it's laws and cuſtoms. He upheld and honoured the monuments of antiquity; erected ſplendid edifices, though not altogether in the roman taſte, from which probably the appellation of gothic architecture is derived; and his court was reſpected by all the barbarians. Some feeble glimmering of ſcience even appeared under him: the names of his principal officers of ſtate, a Caſſiodorus, a Boethius, and a Symmachus, are ſtill highly eſteemed. Both Symmachus and Boethius, it muſt be confeſſed, met an untimely fate, in conſequence of a ſuſpicion, that they aimed to reſtore the liberty of Rome: yet perhaps the old king may be forgiven for this ſuſpicion, as he could look only to an infant grandſon for a ſucceſſor, and was well aware, how much was wanting to the permanent ſtability of his kingdom. Much is it to be wiſhed, that this kingdom of the goths had ſtood; and that a Theodoric had determined the ſpiritual and temporal conſtitution of Europe, inſtead of a Charlemagne.

This great king died, however, after a wiſe and active reign of thirty-four years; and im- 526.

mediately

mediately the evils, that lay in the political conſtitution of all the german nations, broke out. Amalaſvinda, the worthy guardian of the young Adelrich, was thwarted in his education by the nobles of the realm; and as on his deceaſe ſhe took the deteſtable Deodatus for an aſſiſtant in the taſk of government, who rewarded her with death, the ſtandard of revolt was raiſed among the goths. Many of the nobles aſpired after the ſovereignty; the avaricious Juſtinian interfered in their diſputes, and his general Beliſarius croſſed the ſea, under
536. the pretence of delivering Italy. The diſunited goths were hemmed in, and betrayed; Ra-
venna the reſidence of their ſovereigns, was
540. taken by fraud; and Beliſarius returned with the treaſures of Theodoric, and a captive king. Soon, however, the war was renewed. Totilas, the valiant king of the goths, twice took Rome, but ſpared the city, only throwing down it's walls, and
leaving it open. This Totilas was a ſecond
546. Theodoric, and found ſufficient employment
for the treacherous greeks during the eleven
549. years of his reign. After he had been ſlain in
552. battle, and his hat and bloody garments were laid at the feet of the frivolous Juſtinian, the king-
554. dom of the goths came to an end; though they held out bravely, till reduced to the laſt 7000 men.

The mind revolts at the contemplation of this war, in which juſtice and valour contended, on the one ſide, againſt grecian treachery, avarice, and italian baſeneſs, on the other; till at length Narſes,

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an eunuch, ſucceeded in extirpating that monarchy, which Theodoric had founded for the happineſs of Italy; and introduced, to the laſting affliction of the country, the weak and ſubtle exarchate, from which ſo many evils and diſorders ſprung. Here, too, as in Spain, the religion and conſtitution of the gothic ſtate were unfortunately the grounds of it's decay. The romiſh ſee could not bear the arian goths ſo near it, nay as it's maſters: accordingly it left no means unattempted for their deſtruction, not even the interference of Conſtantinople, though thus itſelf was endangered. Beſides, the character of the goths had not aſſimilated with that of the italians: they were looked upon as ſtrangers and conquerors, and the treacherous greeks were preferred to them; though from theſe the italians ſuffered unſpeakably, even in the war they carried on for their deliverance; and they would have ſuffered ſtill more, had not the lombards come to their aſſiſtance againſt their will. The goths were diſperſed, and their laſt remains croſſed the Alps.

The lombards deſerve, that the upper part of Italy ſhould bear their name, as it was denied that of the more eſtimable goths. Againſt the goths Juſtinian called them forth from Pannonia; and they at length ſettled themſelves in poſſeſſion of their booty. Alboin, a prince whoſe name is celebrated by many german nations, croſſed the Alps with an army compoſed of various tribes, attended by their wives, children, cattle, and domeſtic utenſils, to inhabit, not to ravage, the land taken from the

the goths. He acquired the country after-
568. wards called Lombardy, and in Milan, elevated on a ſhield, was proclaimed king of Italy by his lombards: but his death ſoon followed. His murder was planned by his wife Roſamund;
574. who eſpouſed his aſſaſſin, but was forced to flee from the country. The king elected by the lombards was haughty and cruel; the nobles, therefore, unanimouſly reſolved to chooſe no other, and to divide the kingdom among them.

Hence aroſe ſix and thirty dukes, and the firſt lombard-german conſtitution in Italy was eſtabliſhed. For when the nation, compelled by neceſſity, again elected a king, every powerful feudatory for the moſt part acted as he pleaſed. Often the king was even deprived of the choice of theſe; and at laſt his power of ruling and employing his vaſſals depended ſolely on his precarious perſonal authority. Thus aroſe the dukes of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento; who were ſoon followed by others: for the country abounded with cities, in which here a duke, there a count, could eſtabliſh himſelf. Thus, however, the kingdom of Lombardy was enfeebled, and could have been much more eaſily extirpated than that of the goths, had Conſtantinople poſſeſſed a Juſtinian, a Beliſarius, and a Narſes. Yet even in this feeble ſtate it was capable of deſtroying the remains of the exarchate; though it's own fall was prepared by it. The biſhop of Rome, who wiſhed only for a weak and divided government in Italy, beheld the lombards too powerful,

ful, and too near. Having no longer any aſſiſtance to expect from Conſtantinople, Stephen croſſed the mountains; flattered Pepin, the uſurper of the crown of the Franks, with the honour of being a protector of the church; anointed him legitimate king of France; and accepted as a reward the five cities, even previous to the commencement of the campaign, in which they were to be conquered, and the exarchate, yet to be taken from the lombards.

Charlemagne, the ſon of Pepin, completed his father's work; and ſubdued, with his overwhelming power, the lombard kingdom. In recompenſe, he was created by the holy father patrician of Rome, and protector of the church, and proclaimed and crowned emperor of the romans, as if by the inſpiration of the ſpirit. The effect of this proclamation on Europe in general will hereafter appear: to Italy the conſequence of this maſterly caſt of the fiſherman's net was the irreparable loſs of the lombard kingdom. During the two centuries of it's continuance, it had promoted the population of the ravaged and exhauſted country; it had diffuſed ſecurity and happineſs through the land, by means of germanic order and equity; while every ſtate was permitted either to adopt the lombard laws, or to retain it's own. The juriſprudence of the lombards was conciſe, methodical, and effective: their laws remained in force long after their kingdom was deſtroyed. Even Charlemagne, by whom it was overturned, ſtill allowed them to be valid, only with additions of his own. In ſeveral parts of Italy they continued to be the common

774. 800.

law,

law, in conjunction with the roman; and found admirers and expoſitors, even when the juſtinian code became paramount at the command of the emperor.

Notwithſtanding all this, however, it cannot be denied, that the feudal conſtitution of the lombards, which was imitated by ſeveral nations of Europe, entailed diſaſtrous conſequences on this quarter of the Globe. It could not be otherwiſe than pleaſing to the biſhops of Rome, that the power of the ſtate ſhould be divided among vaſſals, abſolute in their own territories, and connected with their ſupreme lord by feeble bands; for, according to the old maxim, 'divide, and govern,' they were thus enabled to profit by every diſorder. Dukes, counts, and barons, might be inſtigated to revolt againſt their feudal chief; and the church could eaſily reap conſiderable gains from rude feudatories and ſoldiers, in reward of it's abſolutions. The feudal conſtitution was the ancient pillar of the nobility; and at the ſame time it was the ladder, by which men in office aſcended to hereditary poſſeſſions, and even to the ſovereignty itſelf. This might be leſs injurious to Italy: for, in this long civilized country, enjoying a near intercourſe with the greeks, africans, and aſiatics, cities, arts, manufactures, and trade, could never be wholly annihilated, or the yet unobliterated roman character completely effaced: though even in Italy the feudal diviſion of lands contained the germes of innumerable diſturbances, and was one of the principal cauſes, why this fine country could never attain a ſtate of permanent

manent conſiſtence after the time of the romans. In other countries we ſhall find the application of the feudal law of Lombardy, the ſeeds of which were contained in the conſtitution of every other germanic nation, far more injurious. Since the time of Charlemagne, who added Lombardy to his poſſeſſions, and tranſmitted it as an hereditary portion to his children; ſince the roman imperial title, too, unfortunately came into Germany, and this poor land, throughout which uniformity of ſentiment could never prevail, had to draw with Italy in the dangerous harneſs of numerous and various feudal bands; and before an emperor had recommended the written law of Lombardy, and added it to the juſtinian code; the conſtitution, that formed it's baſe, was certainly not calculated for the advantage of many diſtricts, bare of towns, and poor in arts. Owing to the ignorance and prejudices of the times, the law of the lombards at length paſſed for the general feudal law of the empire: and thus theſe people ſtill ſurvive in their cuſtoms, which, properly ſpeaking, were raked out of their aſhes to be condenſed into laws *.

The ſtate of the church, likewiſe, was much affected by this conſtitution. At firſt the lombards, as well as the goths, were arians: but when Gregory the great ſucceeded in bringing over queen Theodolinda, the muſe of her nation, to the orthodox

* Excluſive of thoſe who have treated of the hiſtory of laws in general, or in particular, Giannone's Hiſtory of Naples, a work excellent in it's kind, is very valuable with reſpect to the laws of the nations that have ruled in Italy.

faith,

faith, the zeal of the new converts ſoon diſplayed itſelf in good works. Kings, dukes, counts, and barons, emulated each other, in building convents, and endowing the church with ample additions to it's patrimony. The church of Rome enjoyed poſſeſſions of this kind from Sicily to Mount Cenis. For as the fiefs of temporal lords were hereditary, why ſhould not thoſe of the ſpiritual be the ſame, who had to provide for an eternity of ſucceſſors? Every church acquired with it's patrimony ſome ſaint for a protector; and men had continually to gain the favour of this patron, as an interceſſor with God. His image and his relics, his feſtival and his prayers, worked miracles; theſe miracles produced freſh preſents; ſo that what with the continual gratitude of the ſaint, on the one hand, and that of the feudatories, their wives, and children, on the other, there was no ſuch thing as ſtriking a balance of the account. The feudal conſtitution itſelf paſſed in ſome meaſure into the church. For as the duke took precedence of the count, the biſhop who ſat by the duke's ſide would maintain precedence of a count's biſhop: thus the temporal dukedom became the dioceſe of an archbiſhop; the biſhops of ſubordinate cities were converted into ſuffragans of a ſpiritual duke. The wealthy abbots, as ſpiritual barons, endeavoured to withdraw themſelves from the juriſdiction of their biſhops, and render themſelves independent. The biſhop of Rome, who thus became a ſpiritual emperor, or king, willingly allowed this independance, and prepared the principles, which the falſe Iſidorus

afterwards publicly eſtabliſhed for the whole catholic church. The numerous feſtivals, acts of devotion, maſſes, and offices, demanded a multitude of clerical functionaries: the treaſures of the church, and ſacerdotal garments, which were ſuited to the barbarian taſte, required their ſacriſtan; the patrimonial poſſeſſions, their rectors; all ultimately terminating in a ſpiritual and temporal patron, a pope and emperor; ſo that church and ſtate rivalled each other in one feudal conſtitution. The fall of the lombard kingdom was the birth of a pope, and with him of a new emperor, whence the whole conſtitution of Europe aſſumed a new form. For the face of the World is not changed by conqueſt alone; but ſtill more by new views of things, by new diſpoſitions, laws, and rights.

CHAPTER III.

Kingdoms of the Allemans, Burgundians, and Franks.

THE allemans were one of the rudeſt of the german nations. At firſt plunderers of the roman borders, and ravagers of their towns and fortreſſes; as the roman power declined, they ſeized on the eaſtern part of Gaul; and with it, and their ancient poſſeſſions, became maſters of a fine country, to which they might have given as excellent a conſtitution. But this the allemans never did; for they were overpowered by the franks; 496. their king fell in battle; and the people ſubmitted

to the yoke, or were diſperſed. At length, under the ſovereignty of the franks, they obtained a duke; in a ſhort time after, chriſtianity; and
536. laſtly, written laws. Theſe are ſtill extant, and diſplay the ſimple, rude character of the people. Under the laſt of the merovingian line of kings, their duke was taken from them, and they were confounded in the maſs of the francic nations. If the german ſwiſs be the deſcendants of theſe allemans, they have the merit of having a ſecond time cleared the foreſts of the Alps, and gradually adorned them with huts, villages, towns, towers, churches, convents, and cities. At the ſame
610. time we muſt not forget thoſe, by whom they were converted, St. Columbanus and his companions, the name of one of whom, St. Gall, is to be recorded as a benefactor of all Europe, by the foundation of his monaſtery. We owe the preſervation of many claſſic authors to the inſtitution of theſe iriſh monks, whoſe hermitage amid barbarous nations was a ſource of moral improvement, if not a ſeat of learning, and ſhines like a ſtar amid theſe gloomy regions *.

The burgundians became a gentler people, after their alliance with the romans. They ſuffered them-

* Every thing reſpecting the kingdoms and nations here mentioned, in which Switzerland is any way concerned, will be found to receive illuſtration, or judicious remark, in John Mueller's *Geſchichte der Schweiz*, 'Hiſtory of Switzerland,' Leipſic, 1786, &c.; ſo that I may call this book a library of hiſtorical information. A hiſtory of the origin of the nations of Europe, from the pen of this writer, would probably be the firſt in it's kind.

ſelves to be fixed by them in towns, and were not averſe to agriculture, arts, and trade. The romans having beſtowed on them a province in Gaul, they lived peaceably, cultivated corn and the vine, cleared the woods, and would probably have eſtabliſhed a flouriſhing kingdom in their delightful country, which ultimately extended to the borders of Provence and the Leman lake, if the haughty and plundering franks would have allowed them room for it. Unfortunately, however, that Clotilda, who induced the franks to embrace the chriſtian faith, was a burgundian princeſs, who, to expiate ſome family crimes, ruined both it and her paternal kingdom. This ſtate exiſted ſcarcely 534.
a century, the laws of the burgundians during which, with ſome determinations of their eccleſiaſtical councils, are ſtill extant; but it has more particularly perpetuated it's name by the cultivation of the land about the Leman lake, and in the gallic provinces. This country it rendered a Paradiſe, while others were yet no more than wilderneſſes. It's legiſlator, Gundebald, rebuilt Geneva; and his walls for more than a thouſand years have protected a city, the influence of which on Europe has been greater than that of many extenſive regions. In the land it cultivated the human mind has been more than once fired, and imagination ſoared with lofty wing. Even under the franks the burgundians retained their ancient conſtitution: accordingly, on the fall of the carlovingian race, they were the firſt who choſe themſelves a king. This new ſtate continued above two hundred

years; and formed no bad example for other nations, to eſtabliſh their own independance.

It is now time to ſpeak of that kingdom, which put an end to ſo many others, the kingdom of the franks. After repeated attempts, theſe at length ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing in Gaul that ſtate, which, from a ſlight beginning, firſt conquered the allemans, then gradually drove the viſigoths into Spain, ſubjugated the britons in Armorica, reduced the kingdom of the burgundians under ſubjection, and barbarouſly deſtroyed the ſtate of Thuringia. When the declining royal houſes of Merovæus and Clovis had valiant mayors of their palaces, Charles Martel repelled the arabs, and ſubdued the friſons: and when the mayors of the palace had aſcended the throne, Charlemagne ſoon aroſe, by whom the kingdom of the lombards was deſtroyed; Spain, as far as the Ebro, with Majorca and Minorca, conquered; the ſouth of Germany, to Pannonia, and the north, to the Elbe and the Eyder, ſubjugated; the imperial title tranſferred from Rome to his own country; and the nations bordering on his empire, the huns and ſlavians, kept in fear and ſubmiſſion. A mighty empire! more powerful than any one ſince the time of the romans had been; and equally memorable to all Europe in it's riſe, and in it's fall. How did the kingdom of the franks acquire this pre-eminence over all it's contemporaries?

1. *The ſituation of the country of the franks was more ſecure, than that of the poſſeſſions of any of their wandering brethren.* When they entered Gaul, the roman

roman empire was already overturned; and the moſt valiant of their brethren, who had gone before them, were either provided for, or diſperſed. They found an eaſy victory over the enfeebled gauls; who, diſheartened by repeated misfortune, readily ſubmitted to their yoke; and the laſt remains of the romans, ſcared at their approach, fled before them like ſhadows. When Clovis with tyrannic hand cleared the country for his new poſſeſſions, and made free with the life of every neighbour, from whom he had any thing to dread; he ſoon had the coaſt clear both before and behind him; and his France remained as an iſland, ſurrounded by mountains, rivers, ſeas, and countries that he had depopulated. After the allemans and thuringians were conquered, no people inclined to migration appeared in his rear. From the ſaxons and friſons he contrived to remove all deſire of migrating, in a ferocious manner. His kingdom lay fortunately remote both from Conſtantinople, and from Rome: for if the franks had had any thing to do with Italy, it is probable, that, from the vile morals of their kings, the treachery of their nobles, and the negligent government of the kingdom, previous to the elevation of the mayors of the palace, they would have experienced no better fate, than thoſe worthier nations, the goths and lombards.

2. *Clovis was the firſt orthodox king among the barbarians.* This was of more advantage to him, than all the virtues. Into what circle of ſaints did this introduce the firſtborn ſon of the church! Into a congregation, the influence of which extended over

all the weſt of european chriſtendom. Gaul and roman Germany were full of biſhops. They ſat in ſeemly order along the courſe of the Rhine, and on the banks of the Danube. Mentz, Triers, Cologne, Beſancon, Worms, Spires, Straſburg, Conſtance, Metz, Toul, Verdun, Tongres, Lorca, Trent, Brixen, Baſil, and other ancient ſeats of chriſtianity, employed the orthodox king as a bulwark againſt heretics and heathens. At the firſt council held by Clovis in Gaul were preſent thirty-two biſhops, among whom were five metropolitans: a compact ſpiritual body politic, and very efficient for his purpoſes. By them the arian kingdom of the burgundians was given to the franks: the mayors of the palace courted their favour; Boniface, biſhop of Mentz, crowned the uſurper king of the franks; and as early as Charles Martel's time, the patriciate of Rome, with the guardianſhip of the church, was a matter in agitation. At the ſame time theſe guardians of the church cannot be reproached with neglect of their ward. They repaired the epiſcopal cities that had been ravaged, ſupported their dioceſes, ſummoned the biſhops to their diets, and in Germany the church is greatly indebted to the kings of the franks at the expenſe of the nation. The archbiſhops and biſhops of Salzburg, Wurtzburg, Eichſtadt, Augſburg, Freiſingen, Ratiſbon, Paſſau, Oſnabruck, Bremen, Hamburg, Halberſtadt, Minden, Verden, Paderborn, Hilderſheim, and Munſter, the abbots of Fulda, Hirſchfeld, Kempten, Korvey, Elwangen, St. Emeran, and others, eſtabliſhed themſelves through their means: and to them

them theſe ſpiritual lords are indebted for their ſeats in the diets, with their lands and vaſſals. The king of France is the firſtborn ſon of the church: the emperor of Germany, his younger ſtep-brother, only inherited the guardianſhip of the church from him.

3. *Under ſuch circumſtances, the firſt imperial conſtitution of a germannic people could be more conſpicuouſly diſplayed in Gaul, than in Italy, Spain, or Germany itſelf.* The firſt ſtep to a monarchy governing all around it was made by Clovis; and his example was ſilently adopted as the rule of the ſtate. In ſpite of the repeated diviſion of the kingdom; in ſpite of it's internal ſhocks from the crimes of the royal houſe, and the unbridled conduct of the great; it was never deſtroyed: for the church was intereſted in upholding the monarchy. Valiant and able officers of the crown wielded the ſceptre of the feeble kings; conqueſt went forward; and it was deemed much better to permit the extinction of the race of Clovis, than to ſuffer the fall of a ſtate, which was indiſpenſable to all romiſh chriſtendom. For as the conſtitution of germanic nations in fact every where depended on the king and officers of the crown perſonally; and ſtill more particularly in this kingdom, placed between arabs and heathens; all united to maintain, in this frontier empire, that mound againſt them, which the houſe of Pepin de Heriſtal had happily formed. We have to thank him and his brave poſterity, that a ſtop was put to the conqueſts of the moors, as well as to the progreſs of the northern and eaſtern

nations; that a glimmering of ſcience at leaſt was preſerved on this ſide of the Alps; and laſtly, that a political ſyſtem of the german kind was eſtabliſhed in Europe, to which other nations were ultimately obliged to accede, either voluntarily or by compulſion. As Charlemagne was the head of this branch, to which Europe is ſo much indebted, his picture may ſerve us for thoſe of all the reſt *.

Charlemagne deſcended from officers of ſtate. His father became, what he was not born, a king. Of courſe his ideas were ſuch as he derived from the houſe of his father, and the conſtitution of his kingdom. This conſtitution he ſought to carry to perfection, as he was educated in it, and deemed it of all the beſt; for every tree grows in it's own ſoil. Charles clothed himſelf as a frank, and was a frank in his heart: aſſuredly, therefore, we cannot better learn to appreciate the conſtitution of his people, than from the manner in which he viewed and treated it. He ſummoned diets, and did with them whatever he pleaſed: he iſſued ſalutary laws for the ſtate, and capitularies, but with the aſſent of the empire. He reſpected the different orders in it after his manner; and permitted conquered nations to retain their own laws, as long as it could be done. He was deſirous of uniting them all in one body, and had ſpirit enough, to

* In the late *Geſchichte des Regierung Karls des Groſſen*, 'Hiſtory of the Reign of Charlemagne,' by Hegewiſch, Hamburgh, 1791, I think I diſcover the ſame view of his intentions, as I have here given. The whole of that acute work is a commentary on the brief ſketch here attempted.

impart

impart to it animation. Dukes, from whom danger was to be apprehended, he ſuffered to become extinct; and filled their places with counts, holding offices from the court. He appointed commiſſioners *(miſſos)* to viſit both theſe and the biſhops; and took every method of checking the deſpotiſm of rapacious ſatraps, inſolent nobles, and idle monks. On the deſmeſnes of his crown he was not an emperor, but a father of a family; and he would willingly have been the ſame throughout his whole empire, to animate every indolent member of it with the ſpirit of induſtry and order: but here the barbariſm of the age, and the eccleſiaſtical and military ſpirit of the franks, too frequently oppoſed his endeavours. Scarcely ever mortal ſo ſtrictly obeyed the laws of equity; except where the intereſt of the church or the ſtate prompted him to acts of violence and injuſtice. He loved fidelity and activity in his ſervice; and would have looked indignant, could he have returned to life, on the attempt of making his maſk give a ſanction to a lethargic titulary conſtitution. But the wheel of Fate is in continual revolution. The race of his progenitors ſprung from ſervants of the crown; and after his death other ſervants of inferiour talents unworthily wielded his ſceptre, ruined his kingdom, deſtroyed the labours of his life, and fruſtrated the ſchemes of his intelligent mind. Poſterity inherited from him what he did his utmoſt to ſuppreſs or improve, vaſſals, orders of nobility, and a barbarous pomp of francic court parade. He converted dignities into offices;

offices; after him theſe offices ſoon became again empty dignities.

From his forefathers Charles likewiſe inherited a thirſt of conqueſt: for, as they had been decidedly ſucceſsful againſt the friſons, allemans, arabs, and lombards, and it was almoſt an eſtabliſhed maxim of ſtate with Clovis, to ſecure the countries he conquered by the depreſſion of their neighbours; he proceeded with giant ſteps on the ſame courſe. Perſonal quarrels gave birth to wars, of which one followed another, ſo as to occupy the greater part of his reign, that continued near half a century. The lombards, arabs, bavarians, hungarians, and ſlavians, felt this military ſpirit of the franks; and ſtill more the ſaxons, againſt whom, toward the end of a three and thirty years war, Charles ſcrupled not to employ very violent means. He thus ſo far obtained his object, that with his empire he eſtabliſhed the firſt ſolid monarchy throughout Europe: for whatever troubles the normans, ſlavians, and hungarians, afterwards gave his ſucceſſors; and however the great empire might be enfeebled, diſturbed, and broken, by partitions and internal diſſenſions; a ſtop was put to all future tatarian immigrations, from Pannonia to the Elbe. The empire of the franks eſtabliſhed by him, againſt which the huns and arabs had already foundered, proved to them an immovable corner ſtone.

In his religion and love of ſcience, likewiſe, Charles was a frank. Political cauſes had rendered the catholic profeſſion hereditary in the crown from the time

time of Clovis: and when the power came into the hands of Charlemagne's family, they were the more confirmed in it, as the church alone aided them to aſcend the throne, and they were formally anointed by the biſhop of Rome himſelf. Charles, when a boy of twelve years old, had ſeen the holy pontif in his father's houſe, and had then received from his hands the inunction to his future empire: the converſion of Germany had long been carried on under the protection of francic ſovereigns, and often with their voluntary aſſiſtance; as to the weſt chriſtianity was the ſtrongeſt bulwark againſt the pagan barbarians: how, then, could Charles avoid proceeding in the ſame towards the north, and at laſt converting the ſaxons with the ſword? As an orthodox frank, he had no idea of the conſtitution he thus deſtroyed among them: he carried on the pious work of the church for the ſecurity of his empire, and perſevered in the gallant and meritorious ſervices of his fathers toward the pope and biſhops. His ſucceſſors, particularly when the chief empire of the World had fixed itſelf in Germany, followed his ſteps; and thus ſlavians, wendes, poles, pruſſians, livonians, and eſthonians, were converted in ſuch a manner, that none of theſe baptized nations ventured to make any farther incurſions into the holy german empire. If, however, the holy and bleſſed Charles, as the golden bull has ſtyled him, ſaw what has ſprung from the eſtabliſhments he formed for the promotion of religion and ſcience, from his wealthy biſhoprics, canonries, and monaſtic ſchools, he would wave his francic ſword and

ſceptre

ſceptre over many of them with no friendly hand.

4. *Laſtly, it is undeniable, that the biſhop of Rome ſet his ſeal upon all this, and conferred the crown as it were on the empire of the franks.* He had been a friend to the franks from the time of Clovis: he had taken refuge with Pepin, and received from him as a gift the whole booty of the conquered lands of the lombards. After this he had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of Charlemagne; and being victoriouſly eſtabliſhed by him in Rome, he gave him in return, on the famous chriſtmaſs night, a new preſent, the roman imperial crown. Charles appeared ſtaggered and abaſhed; but the joyful acclamations of the people reconciled him to this new honour: and, indeed, as it was accounted by all european nations the higheſt dignity in the World, who could be more worthy of it than this frank; the greateſt monarch of the weſt; king of France, Italy, Germany, and Spain; the effectual protector of the ſee of Rome; reſpected by every king in Europe, and even by the khalif of Bagdad? Accordingly he ſoon entered into a treaty with the emperor of Conſtantinople; and took the title of roman emperor, though he reſided at Aix-la-Chapelle, or travelled about his extenſive dominions.

Charlemagne deſerved the crown: O that it had been buried with him, at leaſt for Germany! For, when he was no more, of what advantage was it on the head of the good and weak Lewis? and when Lewis was compelled prematurely to divide his empire, how oppreſſive was it on the heads of each

each of his ſucceſſors! The empire was torn to pieces: it's irritated neighbours, normans, ſlavians, and huns, roſe up, and ravaged the land; the law of the ſtronger prevailed; the diets of the empire fell into decay. Brother baſely warred againſt brother; father, againſt ſon; and the eccleſiaſtics, with the biſhop of Rome, were their unworthy umpires. Biſhops grew up into princes: the incurſions of the barbarians drove every thing into the power of thoſe who reſided in fortreſſes. In Germany, France, and Italy, governors and officers of ſtate erected themſelves into petty ſovereigns: anarchy, treachery, cruelty, and diſcord, every where prevailed. Eighty-eight years after Charles had aſſumed the imperial crown, his legitimate race was extinguiſhed in the deepeſt miſery; and before he had tenanted the grave a century, his laſt ſpurious imperial ſhoot was cut off. No one, but a man like him, could rule an empire of ſuch vaſt extent, of ſuch an artificial conſtitution, compoſed of ſuch diſcordant parts, and endowed with ſuch pretenſions. The moment the ſoul had quitted this giant frame, it's parts began to diſſolve, and it remained for centuries a putrefying carcaſe.

Reſt in peace, great king! too great for a long train of thy ſucceſſors. A thouſand years are elapſed, and the Rhine and the Danube are not yet united, though thy hand had already begun the work for a trifling object. By thee inſtitutions were founded for education and ſcience in thy days of barbariſm; by aftertimes they have been abuſed, and are abuſed ſtill. Thy capitularies, compared with many

of

of ſubſequent ages, are divine laws. By thee the bards of ancient times were collected: by thy ſon Lewis they were deſpiſed and ſold, and their memory in conſequence for ever annihilated. By thee the German language was cheriſhed, and improved to the utmoſt of thy power: men of learning were aſſembled round thee from the remoteſt lands: Alcuin, thy philoſopher, Angilbert, the Homer of the academy of thy court, and the excellent Eginhart, thy ſecretary, were beloved by thee: thy chief opponents were ignorance, inveterate barbariſm, and indolent pride. Perhaps thou wilt again appear at the end of the eighteenth century, and alter that machine, which began at the end of the eighth. Till then we will honour thy relics, abuſe thy eſtabliſhments according to law, and deſpiſe thy old francic induſtry. Great Charles, thy empire, which fell immediately after thee, is thy monument: France, Germany, and Lombardy are it's ruins.

CHAPTER IV.

Kingdoms of the Saxons, Normans, and Danes.

THE hiſtory of the german nations in the heart of the continent poſſeſſes a certain degree of ſameneſs: the maritime nations, on the contrary, to which we now come, were more rapid in their attacks, more barbarous in their ravages, and more unſettled in their poſſeſſions; but then we diſcern among them, as amid the tempeſts of the ocean, men of the higheſt courage, enterprizes of the moſt ſucceſsful kind,

kind, and kingdoms the genius of which ſtill breathes the freſh air of the ſea.

Already in the middle of the fifth century, the anglo-ſaxons, who had long carried on the trade of war and plunder by ſea, repaired to the aid of the britons, from the northern ſhores of Germany. Hengiſt and Horſa (ſtallion and mare) were their leaders: and as they eaſily overcame the enemies of the britons, the picts and caledonians, and were pleaſed with the country, they invited over more of their brethren; reſting not, till, after a hundred and fifty years of the moſt ſavage war and horrible deſolation, all Britain, Wales and Cornwall excepted, became their own. 449.

The cimbri, who were confined to theſe parts, were never ſo fortunate as to iſſue from their mountains, and reconquer their ancient country, as was done by the viſigoths in Spain; the ſavage ſaxons being ſoon ſecured and confirmed in their poſſeſſion as catholic chriſtians. For it was not long after the eſtabliſhment of the firſt ſaxon kingdom of Kent, that the daughter of an orthodox king of Paris prepared her heathen ſpouſe Ethelbert to embrace chriſtianity, which Auſtin the monk, armed with a ſilver croſs, introduced into England with great ſolemnity. 597.

Gregory the great, then holding the ſee of Rome, who burned with ardour to introduce chriſtianity into every nation, particularly by the marriage of orthodox princeſſes with heathen kings, ſent him thither; determined his caſes of conſcience; and made him the firſt archbiſhop of this fortunate iſland, which, 725.

from

from the time of Ina, was liberal of it's tributary pence to St. Peter. Scarcely any other country in Europe has been ſo abundantly provided with convents and eccleſiaſtical foundations as England, yet literature reaped leſs advantage from them than might have been expected. In this country chriſtianity ſprouted not from the roots of an ancient apoſtolical church, as in Spain, France, Italy, and even in Ireland: the Goſpel was brought to the rude ſaxons in a new form by modern romiſh ſtrangers. The engliſh monks had afterwards ſo much the more merit, however, in foreign converſions; and would have been of conſiderable ſervice to the hiſtory of their country, at leaſt in monaſtic records, if theſe had eſcaped the ravages of the danes.

Seven kingdoms of ſaxon barbarians, unequal in extent, on a peninſula of moderate ſize, entangled by chriſtian and heathen warfare, exhibit no pleaſing picture. And yet this chaotic ſtate endured for more than three hundred years, during which we perceive only the occaſional glimmering of ſome eccleſiaſtical foundations and ordinances, or the commencement of a written law, as thoſe of Ethelbert and Ina. At length the ſeven king-
828. doms were united under Egbert; and more than one of the ſubſequent monarchs poſſeſſed ſufficient ſpirit and power, to have rendered their government flouriſhing, had not the incurſions of the normans and danes, who roamed the ſea with freſh deſire of plunder, prevented any permanent good either on the coaſt of France or England. The injury

injury they did is beyond expreſſion; the barbarities they exerciſed are unutterable: and if Charles treated the ſaxons, if the angles treated the britons and cimbri, with cruelty, their acts of injuſtice toward theſe people were avenged on their poſterity, till the whole fury of the warlike north was exhauſted. But as the greateſt minds diſplay themſelves in the moſt turbulent ſtorms, on the call of neceſſity; ſo England has to boaſt among others her Alfred, a pattern for kings in a time of extremity, a bright ſtar in the hiſtory of mankind.

Having received the royal unction, while yet a child, from the hands of pope Leo IV, he remained unſchooled, till the deſire of reading ſaxon heroic poems ſo excited his induſtry, that he proceeded from them to latin authors: and with theſe he calmly converſed till his 22d year, when the death of his brother called him to a throne, and to every danger, with which a throne could be ſurrounded. The danes were in poſſeſſion of the country; and as they obſerved the courage and good fortune of the young king, they ſo united their forces in repeated attacks, that Alfred, who had fought eight battles with them in one year, who had 875. repeatedly obliged them to ſwear on holy relics to preſerve peace, and who was not leſs mild and juſt as a conqueror than brave and wary in fight, at length found himſelf reduced to ſeek ſecurity in a peaſant's garb, and become the unknown 878. ſervant of a herdſman's wife.

Still, however, his courage deſerted him not. With a few followers he conſtructed himſelf a habi-

tation in the midſt of a moraſs, which he called the iſle of Ethelingey, or of Nobles, and which conſtituted the whole of his dominions. Here he remained above a year, neither idle, nor debilitated. He made incurſions upon the enemy, as from an inviſible caſtle; and ſupported himſelf and his followers by the booty he made: till at length one of his adherents took from the danes their magic ſtandard, the raven, which he conſidered as the omen of ſucceſs. Clad as a harper he now entered the camp of the danes, and enchanted them with his melodious ſongs. He was conducted to the tent of the prince, and every where beheld their profound ſecurity, and lawleſs diſſipation. On this he returned; diſpatched ſecret meſſengers to his friends, to acquaint them, that he was ſtill alive; and requeſted them to meet him in the corner of a wood. A ſmall army aſſembled, and received him with joy. With this he inſtantly fell on the careleſs and affrighted danes; defeated them; ſurrounded them; and made of theſe his priſoners of war allies and coloniſts, with whom he peopled the countries of Northumbria, and Eaſt Anglia, which had been laid waſte; their king was baptized, and Alfred was his ſponſor at the font. Alfred employed the firſt moments of tranquillity, in repelling other enemies, who diſtreſſed the land in ſwarms. He reduced the diſtracted ſtate to order with incredible ſpeed; rebuilt the cities, that had been deſtroyed; formed himſelf an army; and ſoon created a naval force, ſo that in a ſhort time the coaſts were protected by a hundred and twenty ſhips. On the firſt report of

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an attack, he was ready with aſſiſtance: and at a moment of need the whole country reſembled a camp, where each knew his poſt.

Thus he fruſtrated every attempt of his predatory enemies as long as he lived; and gave the ſtate naval and military forces, arts and ſciences, cities, laws, and order. He wrote books; and was the inſtructor of the nation he protected. Equally great in private and in public life, he apportioned his hours, his occupations, and his revenue; and gained time for recreation, as well as for royal beneficence. Living a century after Charlemagne, he was perhaps a greater man, in a circle happily more limited: and though under his ſucceſſors many diſorders were occaſioned by the incurſions of the danes, and not leſs by the reſtleſſneſs of the clergy, as on the whole no ſecond Alfred ever aroſe among them; ſtill, from the good principles of it's conſtitution, even in early times, England has not been wanting in excellent kings; and even the attacks of it's maritime enemies kept it alert and prepared. Among theſe kings may be reckoned Athelſtan, Edgar, and Edmund Ironſide: and if England were tributary to the danes under the laſt, it muſt be aſcribed only to the treachery of the nobles. Canute the great, indeed, was acknowledged as king; but this northern victor had only two ſucceſſors. England reſumed it's liberty; and it was probably to it's misfortune, that the danes permitted the peaceable Edward to remain in tranquillity. He collected laws, and left others to govern: the manners of the normans came over to England from the coaſt of France; and William

the conqueror eſpied his time. One ſingle battle placed him on the throne, and gave the land a new conſtitution. Of the normans it is incumbent on us to take a nearer view; ſince to their manners not England alone, but a great part of Europe alſo is indebted, for the ſplendour of it's ſpirit of chivalry.

Some of the northern germanic tribes, ſaxons, friſons, and franks, frequented the ſea in the earlieſt times; and danes, norwegians, and ſcandinavians, under various names, were ſtill more bold in their maritime expeditions. The anglo-ſaxons and jutes paſſed over into Britain; and as the kings of the franks, particularly Charlemagne, extended their conqueſts northwards, ſtill bolder bands continued to engage in naval enterpriſes, till at length the terrour of the norman name by ſea became almoſt greater than that of the allied warriours, the marcomans, franks, allemans, &c., had ever been by land.

Were I to enumerate the naval heroes, whoſe exploits are celebrated in the ſongs and tales of the north, hundreds of renowned adventurers would ſwell the catalogue. The names of ſuch, however, as have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by diſcovering countries, or laying the foundation of kingdoms, muſt not be paſſed over; and the extenſive ſpace over which theſe have ſpread themſelves is aſtoniſhing. To the eaſt we find Rorick, or Roderic, 862. with his brothers, who founded a kingdom in Novogorod, and thus laid the baſis of the ruſſian empire; Oſkold and Diar, who eſtabliſhed a govern-

a government in Kiow, which was afterwards 865.
united with that of Novogorod; and Ragn- 882.
wald, who ſettled at Polockzki on the Dwina, 990.
the progenitor of the grand-dukes of Lithuania.
To the north, Naddod was driven by a ſtorm 861.
on the coaſt of Iceland, and thus diſcovered an
iſland, which ſoon became the aſylum of the 875.
nobleſt families of Norway, certainly the pureſt nobility in Europe, where the ſongs and tales of the north were preſerved, and augmented by freſh additions, and which for more than three centuries was the ſeat of lovely and not unpoliſhed freedom. To the weſt, the Faroe iſlands, Orkneys, Shetland, and Hebrides, were frequently viſited by the normans, in part peopled, and many of them were 862.
long governed by northern earls, ſo that the remoteſt nooks were inſufficient to protect the retreating gael from the germanic nations. In the time of Charlemagne they eſtabliſhed themſelves in Ireland; where Dublin fell to the 795.
ſhare of Olave; Waterford, to Stirik; and Limmeric, to Ywar. To England they were terrible under the name of danes; and not only poſſeſſed Northumberland, intermixed with ſaxon earls, 827
for more than two hundred years, partly in- to
dependent, partly in fief; but governed the 1066.
whole country under Canute, Harold, and Hardicanute. The coaſts of France they had infeſted 514
ever ſince the ſixth century; and the appre- to
henſions of Charlemagne, who foreboded much 1052.
danger to his country from them, were abundantly

840. juſtified ſoon after his death. The ravages they committed, both in France and Germany, not only on the coaſts, but wherever the rivers enabled them to penetrate, are inexpreſſible; ſo that moſt of the cities and eſtabliſhments formed by the romans, or by Charlemagne, were brought by them to a miſerable end; till at length Rolf, on his baptiſm chriſtened Robert, became the firſt duke of Normandy, and the progenitor of more than one royal family. From him deſcended William the conqueror, who gave England a new conſtitution; and in conſequence of whoſe plans England and France were involved in war for four centuries, which ſerved wonderfully to exerciſe the powers of both nations. Thoſe normans, who, with almoſt incredible courage and ſucceſs, wreſted from the arabs Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, and for a time even Jeruſalem and Antioch, were adventurers from the duchy founded by Rolf; and the ſucceſſors of Tancred, who afterwards wore the crowns of Sicily and Apulia, deſcended from him.

911.

1029.

Were all the bold deeds of the normans to be enumerated, performed by them as pilgrims or adventurers, in the ſervice of Conſtantinople, or in their travels, in almoſt every land, and in almoſt every ſea, from Greenland to Africa; and from America to the Levant, the narrative would have the air of romance. For our purpoſe it will be ſufficient, to trace the principal conſequences of theſe from the *character of the people.*

1130.

Rude as the inhabitants of the northern ſhores muſt

muſt have long remained, in conſequence of their ſoil and climate, their inſtitutions and way of life; ſtill they concealed a germe, particularly in their maritime occupations, which would ſoon have ſhot forth highly flouriſhing branches in a leſs ſevere climate. Strength and courage; activity and expertneſs in all the exerciſes, to which the epithet of knightly was ſubſequently annexed; a ſtrong ſenſe of honour and nobleneſs of birth; with the well-known northern eſteem for the female ſex, as the prize of valour, handſomeneſs, and worth in man; were qualities, that could not fail to endear theſe northern pirates to the inhabitants of the ſouth. In the interiour parts of the land the laws graſp every thing: each rude effuſion of the will muſt either become a law among the reſt, or ſink by it's own weight. On the wild element of the ocean, to which the ſway of the monarch of the land does not extend, the mind receives animation: it roams in queſt of war, and of booty, which the youth is eager to bring home to his intended bride, the huſband to his wife and children, as marks of their proweſs; while a third ſeeks more ſolid acquiſitions in diſtant lands. To be good for nothing, was in the north the grand vice, puniſhed here with contempt, hereafter with the pains of Hell; while valour and honour, friendſhip to death, and a chivalrous reſpect towards women, were the virtues, which, from the concurrence of various occaſional circumſtances, contributed much to the gallantry, as it was called, of the middle ages.

The normans ſettled in a french province, and

Rolf, their leader, married a daughter of the king: many of his comrades followed his example, and formed alliances with the nobleſt families of the land: the court of Normandy ſoon became the moſt brilliant in all the weſt. As chriſtians they could no longer purſue their piratical expeditions againſt chriſtian ſtates; but they received and civilized ſuch of their brethren as followed them, ſo that this coaſt, happily ſituate, was the central and ennobling point of the ſeafaring normans. As the angloſaxon monarchs, oppreſſed by the danes, had recourſe to them for aſſiſtance; and Edward the Confeſſor, who was educated among the normans, gave them hopes even of ſucceeding to the engliſh throne: as William the Conqueror won the kingdom by a ſingle battle, and immediately filled the chief poſts of it, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, with normans: the norman language and manners ſoon became the polite manners and language of the engliſh court. What theſe rude conquerors had learned in France, and aſſimilated with their own nature, paſſed over to Britain, even to a rigid feudal conſtitution and foreſt law. And though many laws of the Conqueror were afterwards aboliſhed, and the more mild angloſaxon of former times revived; the ſpirit inſtilled into the manners and language of the nation by the norman families could not be again obliterated: hence an inoculated ſhoot of the latin language ſtill flouriſhes in the engliſh. The britiſh nation would ſcarcely have become what it was before others, had it remained at reſt on it's ancient lees: but the danes agitated it a long while, and the normans drew

drew it over the ſea into long wars with France. Here it's talents were exerciſed; the conquered became conquerors; and at length, after various revolutions, a political ſtructure appeared, which probably would never have ariſen from the anglo-ſaxon monaſtic economy. An Edmund, or an Edgar, would by no means have withſtood pope Hildebrand, as he was withſtood by William; and the engliſh knights would not have rivalled the french in the croiſades, had not the normans ſet in motion the internal ſprings of the nation, and various circumſtances improved it by force. The engrafting of nations at proper ſeaſons appears to be as indiſpenſable to the progreſs of mankind, as tranſplanting to the productions of the earth, or inoculation to the wild fruit tree. The beſt, confined to the ſame ſpot, will at length decay and die.

The normans were not equally fortunate in their leſs permanent poſſeſſion of Naples and Sicily, the acquiſition of which is a real romance of perſonal valour, and the ſpirit of adventure. On their pilgrimages to Jeruſalem they became acquainted with theſe fine countries; and eighty or a hundred knights, by ſuccouring the oppreſſed with their arms, laid the baſis of their ſubſequent dominion. Rainulph was the firſt count of Averſa; and three of the valiant ſons of Tancred, who alſo fortunately came over, were rewarded for their various ſervices againſt the arabs, by being firſt created counts, and afterward dukes, of Apulia and Calabria. More of Tancred's ſons, William the Ironarmed, Drogo, and Humphrey, followed. Robert and Roger Guiſcard conquered

conquered Sicily from the arabs; and Robert beſtowed on his brother the crown of this fine kingdom. Robert's ſon Boemund purſued his fortune in the eaſt; and being followed thither by his father, Roger became the firſt king of the two Sicilies, inveſted with both the ſpiritual and temporal power. Under him and his ſucceſſors ſcience put forth a few young buds in this corner of Europe: the ſchool of Salernum aroſe in the midſt, as it were, of the arabs and the monks of Caſſino: here juriſprudence, phyſic, and philoſophy, again ſhowed leaves and ſhoots, after a long winter. The norman princes maintained themſelves valiantly, in this dangerous neighbourhood of the papal ſee: they made peace with two of the holy fathers, when they were in their power; thus acting with more prudence and vigilance than moſt of the german emperors. Pity it was, that they formed matrimonial alliances with theſe, and thus gave them a claim to the ſucceſſion: and ſtill more pity, that the purpoſes of Frederic, the laſt of the ſuabian emperours, with regard to theſe countries, were ſo barbarouſly fruſtrated. From this period both kingdoms remained objects of contention to other nations; the prey of foreign conquerors and viceroys, and above all of a nobility, who have proved, even to the preſent day, an obſtacle to any amendment in the ſtate of this once flouriſhing land.

CHAPTER V.

The Northern Kingdoms, and Germany.

THE hiſtory of the northern kingdoms, obſcure as it is till the eighth century, has at leaſt this advantage over the hiſtory of moſt european countries, that a mythology with tales and ſongs lies at the bottom of it, which may ſerve as it's philoſophy. For in this we diſcern the ſpirit of the people, their ideas of men and gods, and the direction of their inclinations and paſſions, in love and hatred, in their hopes on this ſide the grave, and in their expectations beyond it: and ſuch a philoſophy of hiſtory is preſerved to us no where but in the Edda, if the grecian mythology be excepted. Beſides, the hiſtory of the northern kingdoms muſt be eminently ſimple and natural; as they were expoſed to the hoſtile incurſions of no foreign nation, after the finniſh tribes had been expelled, or ſubjected: for what nation would have ſought theſe regions, ſubſequently to the great expeditions to more ſouthern countries? Where neceſſity iſſues her injunctions, men live for a long period in obedience to them: and accordingly the germanic nations of the north remained in a ſtate of freedom and independence, much longer than others of their brethren. Mountains and deſerts ſeparated the tribes from each other: lakes and rivers, foreſts, paſtures, and cultivated lands, with the ſea abounding in fiſh, afforded them nutriment: and ſuch as the land was unable

unable to ſupport, betook themſelves to the ocean, to ſeek elſewhere food and plunder. In theſe regions, as in a northern Switzerland, the ſimplicity of primitive german manners has been long retained, and will ſtill endure, when in Germany itſelf it is become no more than an old wife's tale.

When here, as every where elſe, in time the free inhabitants became ſubject to nobles; many of the nobles became kings of the fields and deſerts; and at length from many little kings one great monarch aroſe: the courts of Denmark, Norway, and Scandinavia, were ſtill happy in this, that whoever was unwilling to remain in ſervitude might ſeek another land; and thus, as we have ſeen, all the adjacent ſeas were long the reſort of roving adventurers, to whom plunder ſeems to have been an allowed, local occupation, like the herring or whaleſiſhery. At length the kings ſtepped in for a ſhare in this national trade: they conquered the lands of one another, or of their neighbours; but the majority of their foreign conqueſts were quickly loſt. The coaſts of the Baltic ſuffered by this moſt ſeverely. The danes reſted not, after innumerable depredations, till they had ruined the commerce of the ſlavians, and their wealthy ports, Vinetha and Julin: when they proceeded to exerciſe their right 1043.
of conqueſt, and laying under contribution,
againſt the pruſſians, courlanders, livonians, 1170.
and eſthonians, long before the ſaxon hordes.

Nothing tended ſo much to ſuppreſs this mode of life of the northern nations as chriſtianity, by which the heroic religion of Odin was totally ſubverted,

verted. Charlemagne had endeavoured to baptiſe the danes, as well as the ſaxons: but his ſon Lewis firſt ſucceeded in the experiment at Mentz on a petty king of Jutland. Yet it was far from being well received by the countrymen of this king, who ſtill continued for a long time, to plunder and lay waſte the chriſtian ſhores: for the example of the ſaxons, whom chriſtianity had rendered the ſlaves of the franks, was too glaring before their eyes. The antipathy of theſe people to the chriſtian religion was deeply rooted; and Kettil, the pagan, choſe rather to retire living to his tomb, three years before his death, than ſubmit to be baptiſed: What diſpoſition could theſe inhabitants of the iſlands and mountains of the north entertain for the articles of faith and canonical precepts of a hierarchical ſyſtem, which overturned all the tales of their forefathers, ſubverted the manners of their country, and, poor as their land was, rendered them the tributary ſlaves of an eccleſiaſtical court in diſtant Italy? The religion of Odin was ſo interwoven with their language and way of thinking, that chriſtianity could not introduce itſelf among them, as long as a trace of his memory remained: the religion of the monks being an inveterate enemy to the tales, ſongs, cuſtoms, temples, and monuments of paganiſm; while the minds of the people were devoted to theſe, and deſpiſed the practices and legends of the monks. The prohibition of labour on ſundays, and of marriage within certain degrees, faſting and penance, the monaſtic vows, and the whole order of prieſts whom they deſpiſed, theſe northern people could never

never reconcile to themselves; so that the holy men who sought to convert them, and even their newly converted kings themselves, had much to suffer, if they were not hunted out or martyred, before the pious work was accomplished. But as Rome knew how to catch every nation in the net that was adapted to it, these barbarians were entranced by the incessant endeavours of their angloſaxon and frank converters, aided by the pomp of the new worship, church-music, incense, tapers, temples, high altars, bells, and processions: and as they firmly believed in ghosts and incantations, they, with houses, churches, churchyards, and domestic utensils of every kind, were so disenchanted from paganism, and bewitched to christianity, by the power of the cross, that the demon of a double superstition returned into them. Some of those, by whom they were converted, however, St. Ansgarius in particular, were actually deserving men, and heroes after their manner for the welfare of mankind.

We come lastly to the native country, as it is called, of the germanic nations, the depository of their melancholy remains, Germany. After so many tribes had emigrated from it, not only was half of it occupied by a foreign race, the slavians, but the remaining german moiety, after various ravages, had become a province, subjected by conquest to the great empire of the franks. Frisons, allemans, thuringians, and last of all saxons, were reduced to submission and christianity; insomuch that the saxons, for example, when they became *kerstene* (christians),

(chriſtians), and forſwore the great idol Woden, were forced to yield up all their rights and poſſeſſions to the will of the ſanctipotent Charles, beg their lives and liberty at his feet, and promiſe fidelity to the triune god, and to the ſanctipotent king. The ſubjection of theſe free and independent people to the francic throne muſt neceſſarily cramp the ſpirit of their original inſtitutions: many of them were treated with ſeverity or miſtruſt; the inhabitants of whole diſtricts were removed to diſtant parts; none of the nations that remained had room, or time, to form themſelves. Immediately on the death of the giant, who alone embraced with his arms this forcibly compounded empire, our Germany, with varying limits, was now the portion of this feeble carlovingian, now of that: and as it was compelled to take a part in the inceſſant quarrels and wars of this unfortunate race, what could it, or what could it's internal conſtitution, become? Unluckily it formed the northern and eaſtern boundary of the francic empire, and with this of roman catholic chriſtendom; and on it's whole frontier dwelt irritated ſavage nations, glowing with implacable animoſity, who made this land the firſt ſacrifice to their vengeance. While, on the one hand, the normans advanced as far as Treves, and wrung from the nation a diſgraceful peace; on the other, Arnulph, the ſavage hungarian, broke into the country, to deſtroy the moravian kingdom of the ſlavians, and thus laid it open to long continued and terrible devaſtation. Laſt of all the ſlavians were conſidered as the hereditary enemies of

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the germans, and for centuries exerciſed their valour and ſkill in arms.

The means adopted under the franks to exalt and ſecure the empire were ſtill more burdenſome to diſmembered Germany. It inherited all thoſe biſhoprics and archbiſhoprics, abbeys and chapters, which were formerly founded on the frontiers for the converſion of the heathen; thoſe court places and chancelleries, in diſtricts that no longer made part of the empire; thoſe dukes and margraves, who had been appointed as officers of the empire for the defence of it's boundaries, and whoſe number had long been augmented againſt the danes, wendes, poles, ſlavians, and hungarians. The moſt brilliant and indiſpenſable jewel of all was the roman imperial crown; which alone has done more injury to Germany, probably, than all the expeditions of tatars, hungarians, and turks. Lewis, the firſt of the carlovingian race to whoſe lot Germany fell, was no roman emperor: and during the diviſion of the empire of the franks, the popes bandied about this title in ſuch a manner, that it was born by various princes in Italy, and even beſtowed on a count of Provence, who died after being deprived of ſight. Arnulph, an illegitimate deſcendant of Charlemagne, coveted this title, which his ſon, however, did not obtain; and which the firſt two kings of german blood, Conrad and Henry, did not deſire. Otto, who was inaugurated at Aix-la-Chapelle with the diadem of Charlemagne, unfortunately took this great frank for his model: and, as an adventure conferred on him the kingdom

kingdom of Italy, in conſequence of delivering the beautiful widow Adelaid from a tower in which ſhe was confined, and thus opened to him the way to Rome; claim followed claim, war ſucceeded war, from Lombardy to Sicily and Calabria; where for the honour of it's emperor the blood of Germany was profuſely ſpilt, the germans were betrayed by the italians, german emperors and empreſſes were maltreated in Rome, Italy was ſoiled by german tyranny, Germany was attracted out of it's orbit by Italy, it's ſpirit and power drawn over the Alps, it's conſtitution brought into dependance on Rome, and the nation, ſet at variance with itſelf, was made detrimental to itſelf and others, without deriving the leaſt advantage from this dazzling honour. *Sic vos non vobis* was always it's proper motto.

The more is it to the honour of the german nation, that, placed by the concatenation of affairs in ſuch hazardous circumſtances, it ſtood as the bulwark and defence of the liberty and ſecurity of all chriſtian Europe. Henry the Fowler had formed it to this, which Otto the great had talents to employ: but then the faithful and willing nation followed it's leader, even when, in the univerſal chaos of it's conſtitution, he himſelf knew not which way he led it. As the emperor himſelf was unable to protect his people from the ſpoliation of the privileged orders, part of them ſhut themſelves up in towns, and purchaſed from their plunderers the protection of a trade, without which the land would long have remained a Tatary. Thus a peaceable uſeful ſtate, connected by trade, com-

pacts, and confraternities, was formed in the diſcordant empire by the intrinſic energies of the nation: thus manufactures aroſe under the oppreſſive yoke of vaſſalage; and were in part improved by german induſtry and integrity into arts, which were tranſmitted to other nations. What theſe have brought to perfection, the germans, for the moſt part, had firſt attempted; though, oppreſſed by poverty and want, they had ſeldom the ſatisfaction of ſeeing them employed and flouriſhing in their native country. They repaired in numbers to foreign lands, and were the inſtructors of other nations, eaſt, weſt, and north, in various mechanic inventions. It would have been the ſame with the ſciences, had not the government of the country rendered all inſtitutions of this kind, which were in the hands of the clergy, political wheels of the confuſed machine, and thus in a great meaſure robbed them of ſcience. The convents of Corvey, Fulda, and others, have done more for the advancement of ſcience, than extenſive diſtricts in other countries; and amid all the diſorders of theſe ages, the inextinguiſhable fidelity and probity of the german character remain evident.

The women of Germany were nowiſe inferiour to the men: domeſtic activity, chaſtity, fidelity, and honour, are the diſtinguiſhing features of the female ſex in all the germanic tribes and nations. The moſt ancient arts of theſe people were exerciſed by the women: they ſpun and wove; they ſuperintended the labouring people; and they had the management of the family, even in the higheſt

claſs. In the court itſelf the wife of the emperor had her grand houſehold, to which a conſiderable part of his revenue was frequently appropriated: and this regulation was long retained in many a princely houſe, certainly not to the detriment of the land. Even the romiſh religion, which greatly diminiſhed the eſtimation of the wife, operated not ſo powerfully in this reſpect here, as in warmer countries. The nunneries of Germany were never the graves of chaſtity to ſuch a degree, as thoſe on the other ſide of the Rhine, or beyond the Alps and Pyrenees: in many points, indeed, they were rather magazines of german induſtry. The gallant manners of chivalry were never poliſhed to that refined ſenſuality in Germany, which they attained in warmer and more voluptuous countries: for the very climate enjoined more ſtrict confinement to the houſe, while other nations could purſue their occupations and amuſements in the open air.

Laſtly, as ſoon as Germany became a ſeparate empire, it could boaſt greater monarchs; at leaſt monarchs more benevolent and induſtrious; among whom Henry, Otto, and the two Frederics, are preeminent. What would not theſe men have accompliſhed, in a more ſolid and determinate ſphere!

After this individual examination, let us take a general view of the inſtitutions of the germanic nations, in all the countries and kingdoms they acquired. What were their principles? and what have theſe principles produced?

CHAPTER VI.

General View of the Inſtitutions of the German Kingdoms in Europe.

If ſocial inſtitutions be the moſt exquiſite productions of the human mind, and human induſtry; as they embrace the whole ſtate of things, according to time, place, and circumſtances, and conſequently muſt be the reſult of much experience, and aſſiduous attention: it is eaſy to conjecture, that a germanic inſtitution formed on the ſhores of the Black Sea, or amid the foreſts of the north, muſt have had very different conſequences, when it fell among nations of improved manners, or depraved by luxury and a ſuperſtitious religion. To conquer theſe was far more eaſy for the germans, than to govern them well, or themſelves amid them. Hence the german kingdoms, that were founded, ſoon diſappeared, or decayed in ſuch a degree, that their ſubſequent hiſtory exhibited only the ſhreds of an abortive inſtitution.

1. *Every conqueſt of the germans proceeded on the principle of a common property.* The nation was as one man: to it every acquiſition belonged by the barbarous right of war, and was ſo to be divided among it's members, that all ſhould ſtill remain a common poſſeſſion. But how was this practicable? A nation of ſhepherds on their downs, hunters in their foreſts, an army with their booty, fiſhermen with

with their common draughts of fiſh, may divide what they have among themſelves, and yet remain a whole: to a conquering nation, ſettling in a diſtant country, this is far more difficult. Every ſoldier becomes a landholder on his newly acquired poſſeſſions: he remains pledged to the ſtate for warlike expeditions, and other duties: but in a ſhort time his public ſpirit declines; he no longer frequents the aſſemblies of the nation; and he ſeeks to compound for his military ſervice, now become burdenſome to him, by the performance of duties of a different kind. Thus it was among the franks, for example: the Field of Mars was ſoon forſaken by the free commons; of courſe it's reſolutions were left to the king and his ſervants; and even the *arriere-ban* * required the moſt vigilant exertions, to maintain it effective. Thus in time the free commons neceſſarily declined much in power, as they transferred their military ſervices to the ever ready knights, and made them ample compenſation; ſo that the ſtock of the nation was loſt, like a divided and expanded ſtream, in ſluggiſh impotence. Now if a kingdom thus modified were attacked in this period of it's firſt relaxation, what wonder that it fell? And if free from external enemies, what wonder, that this indolence ſuffered the beſt rights and properties of the people, to paſs into vicarious hands? The conſtitution of the whole was framed for war, or for a way of life, in

* A ſummons for the vaſſals of the king to attend his armies with their vaſſals. T.

which all ſhould remain in activity; but not for a people living diſperſed in peaceful induſtry.

2. *With every victorious king a band of nobles came into the country, who, as his comrades and friends, his houſehold and ſervants, were to be portioned out of the lands he conquered.* At firſt this was only for life: but in time the eſtates allotted them for their maintenance became hereditary; the demeſne lord gave, till he had nothing left to beſtow, and himſelf was impoveriſhed. In moſt conſtitutions of this kind the vaſſals ſo drained their lord, the ſervants their maſter, that, if the government were of long duration, the king had nothing left of all his profitable claims, and was at length the pooreſt individual in the country. Now ſince, as we have ſeen, according to the courſe of things in long periods of hoſtility, the nobles muſt neceſſarily by degrees depreſs the ſtock of the nation, the free commonalty, ſuch of them excepted as raiſed themſelves to the rank of nobles; it is obvious, how the honourable trade of chivalry, at that time indiſpenſable, attained ſuch eminence. The kingdom was conquered by warlike hordes: he, who perſevered longeſt in the exerciſe of arms, continued to add to his acquiſitions, while any thing was to be gained by the ſword. Thus ultimately the ſovereign had nothing, becauſe he had given every thing away: and the free commons had nothing, becauſe they were either become nobles, or impoveriſhed; and the reſt of the people were ſerfs.

3. *As in the ſtate of common property of the people it was fit, that the king ſhould viſit every part, or rather*

ther be every where preſent; which was impracticable; viceroys, dukes, and counts, were indiſpenſably neceſſary. And as, according to the german conſtitution, the legiſlative, judicial, and executive powers were not yet divided; it was almoſt inevitable, that, under feeble kings, the viceroys of great cities, or remote provinces, ſhould in time become themſelves ſovereigns, or ſatraps. Their diſtricts, like a piece of gothic architecture, contained every thing in miniature, which the kingdom poſſeſſed at large; and as ſoon as they and their nobility could agree, according to the ſtate of affairs, the little kingdom was formed, though ſtill dependent on the ſtate. Thus Lombardy, and the kingdom of the franks, fell to pieces, and were ſcarely held together by the ſilken thread of a regal name: and ſo would it have been with the kingdoms of the goths, and of the vandals, had they been of longer duration. To reunite theſe fragments, where each part ſought to become a whole, has employed the endeavours of every kingdom in Europe of the germanic conſtitution for five centuries; and ſome of them have not yet ſucceeded in recovering their own members. The ſeeds of this diviſion lay in the conſtitution itſelf; it is a polypus, in each diſſevered part of which lives a whole.

4. *As every thing turned on perſonality in this collective body, it's head, the king, though he was as far as poſſible from being abſolute, repreſented the nation, in his perſon, as well as in his domeſtic economy. Moreover, his collective dignity, properly a mere fiction of ſtate, was imparted to his ſatellites, officers, and ſervants.*

vants. Perſonal ſervices to the king were conſidered as the firſt offices of the ſtate; as they who were about his perſon, chaplains, equerries, and ſewers, muſt frequently ſerve and aſſiſt him at councils, in courts of juſtice, and on other occaſions. Natural as this was in the rude ſimplicity of thoſe times, it was altogether abſurd, that theſe chaplains and ſewers ſhould be actually repreſentative members of the empire, enjoy the firſt rank in the ſtate, or indeed hold their dignities as hereditary to all eternity: and yet ſuch a parade of barbarian pomp, adapted to the dining tent of a khan of tatars, but not to the palace of a father, director, and judge of a nation, forms the fundamental conſtitution of every germanic kingdom in Europe. The old fiction of ſtate was converted into a naked truth: the whole empire was metamorphoſed into the hall, the kitchen, and the ſtable of the king. Singular metamorphoſis! They who were ſervants and vaſſals might indeed be repreſented by theſe ſervants of higher order, and more ſplendid appearance; but not the body of the nation, no one free member of which had been a ſervant of the king, but his comrade and companion in the field and the cabinet, and could not allow himſelf to be repreſented by any of the king's domeſtics. This tatarian conſtitution flouriſhed no where with ſuch magnificence as on gallic ground; whence it was tranſplanted into England and Sicily by the normans, into Germany with the imperial diadem, thence into the northern kingdoms, and laſt of all from Burgundy with great pomp into Spain; every where

where producing new bloſſoms, according to the time and place. Neither greeks nor romans, neither Alexander nor Auguſtus, knew any thing of ſuch a fiction of ſtate, which made the houſehold of the regent the ſum and ſubſtance of the kingdom: but on the banks of the Yeniſey and the Yaik it is indigenous; and therefore the ſables and ermines of it's arms and devices are not inſignificant.

5. This conſtitution would not eaſily have found and retained ſuch firm footing in Europe, had it not been preceded by another barbariſm, with which it amicably coaleſced, the *barbariſm of the papacy*. For as all the remains of ſcience, with which even the barbarians could not diſpenſe in theſe countries, were in the hands of the clergy; there was but one mode left for them, undeſirous of acquiring ſcience themſelves, to add it as it were to their conqueſts, by admitting the biſhops among them. This they did. And as theſe became ſervants of the court with the nobles; as theſe too allowed themſelves to be endowed with benefices, lands, and privileges, and in many reſpects gained the preeminence over the laity, from various cauſes; this conſtitution was dear to the papacy above all others. Now as on the one hand it is undeniable, that the ſpiritual order contributed much to the ſoftening of manners, and eſtabliſhment of order; on the other it muſt be confeſſed, that the introduction of two diſtinct codes of law, of an independent ſtate within the ſtate at large, muſt have looſened the foundations of the political edifice. No two things could be more directly oppoſite to

each

each other in themſelves, than the roman papacy, and the ſpirit of german manners: this ſpirit the papacy was inceſſantly undermining, while on the other hand it appropriated much of it to itſelf, and at length compounded from the two a german romiſh chaos. That, at which all german nations had long ſhuddered, became at length moſt dear to them: they ſuffered their own principles to be employed againſt themſelves. The domains of the church, wreſted from the ſtate, became one common domain, which the biſhop of Rome governed and protected with more energy, than any ſecular potentate his dominions. A conſtitution full of incongruity, and fatal diſcord.

6. *Neither ſoldiers nor monks feed a country:* and as ſo little care was taken of the labouring claſs in this conſtitution, which tended rather to render the whole community ſerfs of the biſhops and nobles; it is obvious, that the ſtate was long deprived of it's moſt invigorating ſprings, *induſtry, and the active ſpirit of uncontrolled invention.* The ſoldier deemed himſelf too great to till the ground, and ſunk into obſcurity: the nobles and convents would have their predial ſlaves, and predial ſlavery was never advantageous to mankind. As long as lands and goods were conſidered as an indiviſible dead poſſeſſion, belonging to the crown, or the church, or the head of a noble race, in the quality of an immoveable eſtate, to which ſerfs appertained; and not as an uſeful body, organized in all it's parts and products: the right uſe of this land, and the true eſtimation of human powers, were prevented in an unſpeakable

unſpeakable degree. The greater part of the land was an unproductive common; and men were attached to the glebe like beaſts, with this ſevere law, that they could never looſen themſelves from it. Arts and trades followed the ſame courſe. Exerciſed by women and ſlaves, they long remained, in the groſs, ſlaviſh occupations: and when convents, having acquired from the roman world a knowledge of their utility, drew them within their walls; when emperors conferred on them the privileges of city corporations; the courſe of things did not change. How can arts raiſe themſelves, where agriculture is depreſſed? where the primitive ſource of wealth, independent, gainful induſtry, with all the ſtreams of traffic and free trade, is dried up? where none but ſoldiers and monks are leading men, and wealthy proprietaries? Conformably to the ſpirit of the times, the arts could only be introduced as common bodies, *univerſitates*, in the form of corporations: a rude ſhell, which, though then neceſſary to ſecurity, was ſtill a fetter, reſtraining the activity of the human mind from exerting itſelf out of the corporate pale. We have to thank ſuch conſtitutions, that barren commons are ſtill to be found in countries cultivated for centuries; that firmly eſtabliſhed corporations, orders, and fraternities, ſtill cheriſh all the ancient prejudices and errours, which they have faithfully preſerved. The human mind has modelled itſelf mechanically by the ſquare and compaſs, and crouched in the privileged cheſt of a corporation.

7. From all this it is evident, that the idea of the

the germanic popular conſtitution, natural and noble as it was in itſelf, when applied to great, conquered, long civilized, or indeed romiſh chriſtian kingdoms, could be no other than a *bold experiment*, liable to various abuſes: it required to be long exerciſed, and proved and poliſhed in various ways, by many intelligent nations, before it could attain any degree of ſtability. In little municipalities, in judicial proceſſes, and wherever the general preſence is ſomething more than a dead letter, it is unqueſtionably the beſt. The old german principles, that every one ſhall be tried by his peers, that the judge has no authority but what he derives from thoſe to whom the right of judging belongs, that ſatisfaction for every crime is to be made only as it is an offence againſt the community, and that an offence is to be judged not by the letter of the law, but from actual conſideration of the fact: theſe, with a number of cuſtoms, reſpecting the adminiſtration of juſtice, confraternities, and other matters, teſtify the clear underſtanding, and equitable ſpirit of the germans. With regard to the ſtate, likewiſe, the principles of the community of property, defence, and liberty, to the whole nation, were grand and noble: but as theſe principles required men, qualified to keep all the members of the community together, to maintain the balance between them, and to animate the whole with a glance; and as ſuch men were not to be produced according to the law of primogeniture; it followed, as it has every where more or leſs, that the members of the nation gave a looſe to the exerciſe of lawleſs power, oppreſſed

preſſed the unarmed, and ſupplied the want of underſtanding and induſtry by long tatarian diſorder. Yet, in the hiſtory of the World, the popular conſtitution of the german nations has proved the ſolid bulwark, that has protected the remains of civilization from the ſtorms of time, developed the public ſpirit of Europe, and ſlowly and ſilently operated on all the regions of the Earth. Firſt appeared the lofty phantoms of a ſpiritual and a temporal monarchy; but they promoted objects far different from thoſe, for which they were deſigned.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XIX.

NEVER was a nominal alluſion attended with conſequences more important, than that made to St. Peter, that an indeſtructible church ſhould be built on the rock of his faith, and that to him the keys of the kingdom of Heaven ſhould be entruſted. The biſhop, who was ſuppoſed to ſit in St. Peter's chair, and near his grave, had the art, to interpret this as alluding to himſelf: and as various circumſtances concurred, to render him the primate of the greateſt chriſtian church, and at the ſame time to confer on him the power of iſſuing ſpiritual ordinances and injunctions, calling councils and deciding upon them, eſtabliſhing and defining articles of faith, abſolving irremiſſible ſins, and imparting indulgences, that no other could beſtow; ſo that, in ſhort, he enjoyed the authority of God upon Earth; he ſoon paſſed from this ſpiritual monarchy, to it's natural conſequence, temporal. As he had formerly limited the power of biſhops, he now reſtrained that of monarchs. He conferred a weſtern imperial diadem, the authority of which he himſelf did not acknowledge. His dreaded hand, wielding

wielding anathemas and interdictions, erected and gave away kingdoms, chaſtiſed and pardoned kings, deprived countries of the exerciſe of religious worſhip, abſolved ſubjects and vaſſals from their duties, deprived the whole body of his clergy of wives and children, and founded a ſyſtem, which a ſeries of ages have ſhaken indeed, but not yet deſtroyed. Such a phenomenon demands attention: and as no regent in the world had ſuch obſtacles to ſurmount for the eſtabliſhment of his power, as the biſhop of Rome, it deſerves at leaſt to be examined without rancour and animoſity, as well as any other political conſtitution *.

CHAPTER I.

Romiſh Hierarchy.

WHEN a man deſigns to erect an edifice, he uſually makes a ſketch of the ſtructure, before he lays it's foundations: but this is ſeldom the caſe with the work of the political architect, which is left to time to complete. It may be doubted, whether the moſt unremitting attention could ever have been ſufficient, to raiſe the ſpiritual great-

* Though particular parts of the papal hiſtory have been handled with conſiderable ability ſince Sarpi, Puffendorf, &c.; yet I think a philoſophical hiſtory of the papacy, treated throughout with perfect impartiality, is ſtill wanting. The author of the *Reformationsgeſchichte*, 'Hiſtory of the Reformation,' after he has completed his deſign, might thus give his work a ſingular degree of perfection.

neſs

neſs of Rome. The biſhops, that wore the roman mitre, differed as much as any other potentates; and there were unpropitious times for the ableſt operators. But it was the policy of this ſee, to turn to account even theſe unpropitious periods, and the faults both of it's enemies, and of it's preceding occupiers: and by this policy it attained it's grandeur and ſtability. Out of numerous circumſtances of hiſtory, let us conſider a few, with the principles on which the greatneſs of Rome was erected.

The very name of Rome itſelf ſays a great deal: the ancient queen of the World, the head and the crown of nations, inſpired her biſhops with the deſire of being alſo the head of nations after their manner. No tales of the epiſcopacy and martyrdom of Peter would have had ſuch political effects at Antioch, or Jeruſalem, as in the flouriſhing church of ancient, immortal Rome: for how much did the biſhop of this revered city find, that could not fail to exalt him almoſt againſt his will! The ineradicable pride of the roman people, to which ſo many emperors were obliged to yield, lifted him on their ſhoulders; and inſpired him, the paſtor of the firſt people upon Earth, with the thought of ſtudying ſcience and politics, in this their high ſchool, to which even in chriſtian times men journeyed for inſtruction in the roman juriſprudence; that, like the ancient romans he might rule the World by his laws and ordinances. The pomp of pagan worſhip glared in his eyes; and as this was connected with the ſovereign power in the roman conſtitution, the people expected in it's chriſtian biſhop, likewiſe,

wiſe, the ancient *pontifex maximus*, *aruſpex*, & *augur*. Accuſtomed to triumphs, feſtivals, and ceremonials of ſtate, they gladly ſaw chriſtianity emerging from graves and catacombs into temples worthy of the roman greatneſs; and thus Rome became a ſecond time the head of nations, by means of it's feſtivals, rites, and inſtitutions.

Rome early diſplayed it's legiſlative policy, by inculcating the *unity of the church*, *purity of doctrine*, *orthodoxy*, *and catholiciſm*, on which it was neceſſary the church ſhould be built. Even ſo early as the ſecond century, Victor had the boldneſs to refuſe acknowledging the chriſtians of Aſia as his brethren, becauſe they would not celebrate Eaſter at the ſame time with him: nay the firſt diviſion between jewiſh and heathen chriſtians was probably terminated by Rome, where Paul and Peter lay peaceably interred *. This ſpirit of an univerſal doctrine maintained itſelf in the romiſh ſee: and though ſome of the popes themſelves are ſcarcely free from the imputation of hereſy, their ſucceſſors always contrived to take a turn, and reenter the pale of the orthodox church. Rome never bowed to hereſy, though often threatened by it: the eaſtern emperors, the oſtrogoths and viſigoths, the burgundians and the lombards, were arians: ſome of theſe governed Rome; yet Rome remained catholic. At length it ſeparated itſelf without ceremony from the greek church, though this was almoſt half a world. This foundation of an immoveable purity

* Of this elſewhere.

and univerſality of doctrine, profeſſing to reſt on Scripture and tradition, muſt neceſſarily acquire and ſupport the ſuperſtructure, under favourable circumſtances, of the throne of a ſpiritual judge.

Such favourable circumſtances occurred. After the emperors had left Italy; when the empire was divided, and overrun by barbarians; and Rome had been repeatedly taken and plundered; it's biſhop had more than once opportunities of being it's deliverer. He was the father of the abandoned metropolis; and the barbarians, who venerated the majeſty of Rome, reſpected it's chief prieſt. Attila retired; Genſeric ſubmitted; enraged lombard kings fell at his feet, even before he was lord of Rome. Long did he hold the balance between greeks and barbarians: he had the art to divide, that he might afterwards govern. And when this policy of diviſion would no longer ſucceed, he had already prepared his catholic France to aſſiſt him: he croſſed the mountains, and obtained from his deliverer more than he had aſked, his epiſcopal city, with all the cities of the exarchate. At length Charlemagne became emperor of Rome; and now the word was, one Rome, one emperor, one pope! three inſeparable names, thenceforward to work the weal and woe of nations. Unheard of liberties were taken by the roman biſhop even with the ſon of his benefactor; and his later ſucceſſors expected ſtill more. He interfered between the emperors, iſſued his commands to them, depoſed them, and tore from their brows the crown, which he conceived he had given to them. The openhearted germans, who

for

for three hundred and fifty years viſited Rome for the ſake of this jewel, and readily ſacrificed to it the blood of the nation, were they who raiſed the arrogance of the pope to it's moſt tremendous height. Without a german emperor, and the wretched conſtitution of his empire, a Hildebrand would never have ariſen: and even now the conſtitution of Germany renders it the pillow of the roman tiara.

As heathen Rome was happily ſituate for it's conqueſts, ſo was chriſtian Rome. From the North Sea and the Baltic, from the Euxine and the Wolga, came numerous nations, whom the biſhop of Rome muſt finally ſign with his orthodox croſs, if they would live in peace in this orthodox region: and thoſe, who came not of their own accord, he took care to ſeek. He ſent prayers and incenſe to the nations; in return for which they dedicated gold and ſilver to his uſe, and endowed his numerous ſervants with woods and fields. But their moſt valuable preſent was their raw, unprejudiced hearts; which ſinned the more, as they acquired the knowledge of ſin; and received from him catalogues of offences, that his abſolutions might become requiſite. Thus the keys of St. Peter came into employ; but never did they turn without a fee. What a fine inheritance for the clergy were the lands of the goths, allemans, franks, angles, ſaxons, danes, ſwedes, ſlavians, poles, pruſſians, and hungarians! The later theſe people entered into the kingdom of Heaven, the dearer were they obliged to pay for admiſſion; and not unfrequently their land and li-

berty were the price. The farther they lay to the north, or to the eaſt; the more tardy was their converſion, and the more ample their gratitude. The greater the difficulty with which a nation was led to the faith, the more firmly did it learn to believe. At length the fold of the romiſh biſhop extended to Greenland, and ſtretched from the Dwina and the Nieper to the extreme promontory of the weſt.

Winifred, or Boniface, the converter of the germans, raiſed the authority of the pope over biſhops ſituate out of his dioceſe to a much higher pitch, than any emperor could have done. As a biſhop in a land of infidels he had taken an oath of fealty to the pope, which perſuaſion or aſſumption afterwards extended to other biſhops, till at length it became a law in all catholic kingdoms. The frequent diviſion of countries under the carlovingian race likewiſe changed the limits of epiſcopal dioceſes, and afforded the pope abundant opportunities of exerciſing his authority in them. Laſtly, the collection of decretals of the Pſeudo-Iſidorus, which firſt appeared publicly in theſe times of the carlovingians, probably in the interval between the frank and germanic empires, being permitted to paſs as valid, from inattention, artifice, and ignorance, at once eſtabliſhed all the growing abuſes of recent times on the baſis of ancient authority. This ſingle book was of more ſervice to the pope than ten imperial diplomas: and indeed ignorance and ſuperſtition in general, with which the whole weſtern world was deluged, formed the deep and extenſive

ſea,

ſea, into which the net of St. Peter was caſt with ample ſucceſs.

The political abilities of the roman biſhops were moſt eminently diſplayed, in the art with which they turned the moſt unpromiſing circumſtances to their advantage. Long were they oppreſſed by the emperors of the eaſt, and often by thoſe of the weſt: and yet Conſtantinople was firſt obliged to allow them the rank of univerſal biſhops, and Germany at laſt to cede to them the inveſtiture of the ſpiritual order of the empire. The greek church ſeparated itſelf: and by this, too, the pope profited; for in it he could never have obtained that authority, for which he ſtrove in the weſt, and which he was thus enabled, to render the more compact. Mohammed appeared: the arabs ſubdued a great part of the ſouth of Europe; they even cruiſed in the neighbourhood of Rome, and attempted to land. Theſe calamities, likewiſe, were of ineſtimable value to the pope; who well knew how to avail himſelf of the feebleneſs of the greek emperors, and the danger which threatened Europe, taking the field as the deliverer of Italy, and thenceforward aſſuming to himſelf the ſtandard of chriſtendom againſt all infidels. A fearful ſpecies of war, which he had the power to enforce by bans and interdictions, and in which he was not merely the herald, but often both treaſurer and commander in chief. He likewiſe turned to account the ſucceſſes of the normans againſt the arabs; inveſting them with lands, to which he had no right, and by means of them ſecuring his rear, that he might be at full

liberty, to carry on his operations in front. So true it is, that he advances fartheſt, who knows not in the beginning how far he ſhall advance, but avails himſelf with ſteady principle of every circumſtance, that time throws in his way.

Let us impartially exhibit ſome of theſe principles, purſued by the court of Rome to it's no ſmall advantage.

1. *The ſovereignty of Rome reſted on faith:* on a faith, that was to promote the good of men's ſouls, both in time and in eternity. To this ſyſtem pertained every thing, that could lead the human mind; and every thing conducive to this end Rome got into her own hands. From his mother's womb to the grave, nay beyond it in the flames of Purgatory, a man was in the power of the church, from which he could not withdraw himſelf, without being irremediably miſerable. The church moulded his head: the church diſturbed and calmed his heart. Confeſſion placed in her hands the keys of his ſecrets, of his conſcience, of every thing that he carried in or about him. All his lifetime the believer remained a pupil under her diſcipline: and in the article of death ſhe bound him with ſevenfold bonds, the more liberally to looſe the penitent and the liberal. This was equally the caſe with the king and the beggar, the ſoldier and the monk, the huſband and the wife: maſter neither of his reaſon, nor of his conſcience, every one was doomed to be led, and guides he could not want. Now as man is an indolent animal, and, when once accuſtomed to have his mind under ſpiritual direction, cannot

cannot eaſily diſpenſe with it, but rather commends this ſoft yoke to his poſterity, as the pillow of a ſick ſoul; the dominion of the church was hereby interwoven moſt intimately into the believer's frame. With his reaſon and conſcience ſhe had every thing in her power: it was a trifle, that, ſowing her ſpiritual ſeed, ſhe reaped his temporal harveſt; ſhe was ſurely the heir of him, whom reſignation had ſtamped her ſole property during life.

2. *To guide this faith, the church employed not the greateſt, the moſt important means, but the leaſt, and moſt comprehenſible*; well knowing how little ſatisfies men's devotion. A crucifix, a picture of Mary and her child, a maſs, a roſary, promoted her object more than many refined reaſonings would have done: and even theſe implements ſhe managed with the moſt frugal diligence. Where a maſs was ſufficient, it was not neceſſary to eat the Lord's ſupper: when a low maſs would anſwer the purpoſe, high maſs was not required: if a man ate the tranſubſtantiated bread, he might diſpenſe with the tranſubſtantiated wine. This economy afforded the church opportunity for innumerable indulgences, and unexpenſive preſents: for even the moſt frugal economiſt may be defied, to make more of a little water, bread, or wine, a ſtring of glaſs or wooden beads, a lock of wool, a little ointment, or a croſs, than was made by the church of Rome. It was the ſame with rituals, prayers, and ceremonies. They were never invented and eſtabliſhed in vain: old ceremonies remain, though new are adapted to more modern times: pious poſterity muſt and will

be ſaved after the manner of their fathers. Still leſs has the church retracted any of the faults committed by her: when too glaring, indeed, they have been artfully gloſſed over; otherwiſe every thing has remained as it was, and, when opportunity offered, not corrected, but enlarged. Before Heaven was peopled with ſaints in this prudent way, the church was filled with wealth and miracles: and even with regard to the miracles of their ſaints the inventive powers of the narrators have been at little expenſe. Every thing was repeated, and built on the grand principles of the popular, the comprehenſible, and the familiar: for the frequent and bold repetition of what is leaſt credible challenges belief, and at length obtains it.

3. With this principle of the ſmalleſt means the romiſh policy contrived ſo to combine the *moſt refined* and the *moſt groſs*, that it would be difficult to exceed it in either. No one could be more humble, cajoling, and ſuppliant, than the popes, in time of need, or towards thoſe who were liberal, and prompt to ſerve them; at one time it is a tender father, at another St. Peter, that ſpeaks through their mouth: but no one could write or act with more openneſs and vigour, with more coarſeneſs and ſeverity, when it was requiſite. They never diſputed, but decreed: an artful boldneſs, which purſues it's own courſe, in ſpite of tears, or prayers, or demands, or threats, or defiance, or puniſhment, diſtinguiſhes the language of the romiſh bulls, almoſt without a parallel. Hence the peculiar tone of the laws, mandates, and decretals of the church, in

in the middle ages, ſingularly different from the dignity of the ancient roman legiſlation: the ſervant of Chriſt is accuſtomed to ſpeak to laics, or thoſe under his immediate control, always certain of his object, never retracting his words. This holy deſpotiſm, gloſſed with paternal authority, has done more than the empty courteſy of frivolous ſtate policy, in which no one confides. It knew it's object, and how obedience was to be enſured.

4. *The romiſh policy attached itſelf to no particular object of civil ſociety in preference: it exiſted for itſelf*; it employed every thing, that was of uſe to it; it could annihilate every thing, that was an obſtacle to it: for it depended ſolely on itſelf. An eccleſiaſtical ſtate, which lived at the expenſe of all chriſtian ſtates, could not fail to be of ſervice now to ſcience, now to morality and order, to agriculture, arts, or commerce, when it ſuited it's purpoſe: but that papacy was never truly inclined to promote the diffuſion of genuine knowledge, the advancement to an improved form of government, and whatever is connected with it, is apparent from all the hiſtory of the middle ages. The beſt germe might be cruſhed, if it were at all dangerous: and the more learned papiſt muſt conceal or accommodate his knowledge, the moment it interfered with the eternal intereſt of the ſee of Rome. On the other hand, whatever promoted this intereſt, arts, taxes, municipal mutinies, or donations of lands, were cheriſhed and managed for the greater glory of God. In every movement the church was the fixed centre of the univerſe.

5. *The*

5. *The romiſh political ſupremacy might employ whatever was conducive to this object:* war and devaſtation, fire and ſword, death and impriſonment, forged writings, perjury on the holy ſacrament, inquiſitorial tribunals and interdictions, poverty and diſgrace, temporal and eternal miſery. To ſtir up a country againſt it's prince, it might be deprived of all the means of ſalvation, except at the hour of death: the keys of Peter exerciſed an authority over the laws of God and man, over the rights of individuals and of nations.

6. *And as all the gates of Hell were not to prevail againſt this edifice*; as this ſyſtem of canonical inſtitutions, the power of the keys to bind and to looſen, the magic power of holy ſigns, the gift of the ſpirit, tranſmitted from Peter to his ſucceſſors, and thoſe whom they conſecrated, preached nothing but eternity; who can imagine a more deeply rooted empire? The clerical order were it's own, body and ſoul: with ſhaven heads, and irrevocable vows, they were it's ſervants to eternity. The bond that connected the prieſt to the church was indiſſoluble: he was deprived of child, of wife, of father, and of heir: cut off from the fruitful tree of the human ſpecies, he was engrafted into the barren evergreen of the church; and his honour was thenceforward it's honour, his profit it's profit; no change of mind, no repentance, for him, till his ſlavery was terminated by death. In recompenſe the church opened to theſe it's vaſſals an ample field of reward, a lofty ladder, leading them, though ſervants, to wealth and extenſive command, to dominion over all

all the free and great ones of the Earth. It held out honours to tempt the ambitious, devotion to ſtimulate the devout, and for every one his proper bait and reward. This legiſlation, too, has this peculiarity; that, as long as a fragment of it remains, the whole exiſts; and, with each individual maxim, all muſt be followed: for it is the rock of Peter, from which the fiſherman caſts his indeſtructible net; it is the garment without ſeam, that can be the lot only of *one*, though ſoldiers play for it.

7. And who was this *one*, at the head of the ſacred college at Rome? Never a whimpering child, to whom men had taken the oath of fealty perhaps in his very cradle, and thereby vowed ſubmiſſion to all his future freaks; never a playful boy, with whom men ſought to creep into favour by indulging him in all his youthful follies, that they might afterwards become the ſpoiled children of his caprice: a man of ripe years, or ſilvered with age, was elected, already for the moſt part practiſed in the affairs of the church, and acquainted with the field, to which he was to appoint labourers; or one cloſely allied with the princes of his time, and choſen at a critical period, preciſely for the difficulty, which he had to ſurmount. He had but few years to live, and no poſterity for whom he could legitimately make proviſion: and if he did make proviſion for any, it was but as a drop in the great ocean of the catholic pontificate. The intereſt of the ſee of Rome was progreſſive: the experienced old man was only ſet up, that he alſo might put his name to what had been done. Many popes ſunk under the burden: others,

others, verſed in law and politics, bold, and ſteady, performed more in a few years, than a weak government could have accompliſhed in half a century. Were only the moſt eminently great and worthy popes to be enumerated, they would preſent a long catalogue of names, many of which muſt excite our regret, that they who bore them could not be employed to ſome other purpoſe. Fewer effeminate debauchees by far have worn the roman tiara than ſecular crowns; and of many of theſe the faults are ſtriking only becauſe they were the faults of popes.

CHAPTER II.

Effect of the Hierarchy on Europe.

FIRST of all it is proper to conſider the benefits, that chriſtianity, even in this garb, muſt from it's nature confer. Compaſſionate toward the poor and oppreſſed, it took them under it's protection from the wild devaſtation of the barbarians: many biſhops in Gaul, Spain, Germany, and Italy, have proved this as ſaints. Their habitations and the temples were aſylums for the oppreſſed: they redeemed ſlaves, liberated priſoners, and repreſſed the horrible traffic in human beings, carried on by the barbarians, wherever it was in their power. This merit of clemency and generoſity to the oppreſſed part of the human ſpecies cannot be refuſed to the principles of chriſtianity: from it's infancy it laboured for the deliverance of man, as is evinced

even by many impolitic laws of the eaſtern emperors. But this benefit was ſtill more indiſpenſable in the weſtern church; and many decrees of the biſhops in Spain, Gaul, and Germany, inculcate it, even without the aſſiſtance of the pope.

It is alſo inconteſtible, that, in times of general inſecurity, temples and convents were the ſanctuaries, in which peaceful induſtry and trade, agriculture, arts, and manufactures, found refuge. Eccleſiaſtics eſtabliſhed annual fairs, ſtill bearing in honour of them the name of maſſes *, and protected them with the peace of God, when no royal or imperial proclamation could give them ſecurity. Artiſts and mechanics retreated within the walls of the convent, as a ſafeguard againſt the nobles, who would have held them in a ſtate of vaſſalage. Monks purſued neglected huſbundry, both with their own hands, and by means of others: they prepared whatever was neceſſary for their convents, or at leaſt afforded a place for a monaſtic application to the arts, and beſtowed on them a frugal reward. The remains of ancient authors were ſaved from deſtruction in convents; and, being occaſionally tranſcribed, were thus tranſmitted to poſterity. Laſtly, by means of divine ſervice a ſlight clew was preſerved, ſuch as it was, in the latin language, which afterwards led men back to the lite-

* The term *maſſe* is equally applied, in Germany, to the religious office named a maſs, and to the great meeting of traders, called a fair; the moſt important of which are held about eaſter and michaelmas, when a great deal of buſineſs is tranſacted. T.

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rature of the ancients, and thus to improvement in knowledge. For ſuch times were convents adapted, which afforded even the pilgrim ſecurity and protection, food, lodging, and conveniencies. Journeys of this kind firſt brought nations peaceably together; for the pilgrim's ſtaff was a defence, where the ſword would have been of little avail: and through their means was acquired a knowledge of foreign countries; while at the ſame time tales, narratives, romances, and poetry, were cheriſhed by them though in their rudeſt infancy.

All this is undeniably true: but as much of it might have taken place without the biſhop of Rome, let us inquire what advantages his ſpiritual ſovereignty may properly be ſaid to have brought to Europe?

1. *The converſion of many heathen nations.* But in what manner were they converted? Frequently by fire and ſword, by ſecret tribunals, and wars of extirpation. Let it not be ſaid, that the biſhop of Rome ordered none of theſe: he approved them, enjoyed their fruits, and copied them, when it was in his power. Hence that tribunal of the inquiſition, at which pſalms were chaunted; hence thoſe croiſading miſſions, the plunder of which was ſhared by popes and princes, knights, prelates, canons, and prieſts. They who eſcaped deſtruction were reduced to the ſtate of vaſſalage, in which they for the moſt part ſtill continue. Thus was chriſtian Europe rounded: thus were kingdoms erected, and their crowns conferred by popes: and thus was the croſs of Chriſt afterwards carried

as the ſignal of death into every quarter of the Globe. America yet ſmokes with the blood of her ſlain; and the enſlaved nations of Europe ſtill curſe their converters. And you, innumerable victims of the inquiſition, in the ſouth of France, in Spain, and in other quarters of the World! your bones are mouldered into duſt, and your aſhes are diſperſed by the winds: but the ſtory of the barbarities exerciſed towards you remains, an eternal appellant in behalf of human nature outraged in you.

2. To the hierarchy is aſcribed the merit *of having united all the nations of Europe in one chriſtian republic.* But in what did this conſiſt? That all nations ſhould kneel before one croſs, and hear one maſs, was ſomething, but not much. That they ſhould all be governed by Rome in ſpiritual affairs, was not of any ineſtimable advantage to them: for they groaned under the weight of the tribute they ſent thither, and an innumerable army of monks and eccleſiaſtics, nuncios and legates. Peace between the european powers then there was leſs than now; owing, among other things, to the ſyſtem of falſe policy, which the pope himſelf cheriſhed in Europe. Chriſtianity ſtopped the piratical depredations of heatheniſm: but powerful chriſtian nations rubbed hard againſt each other; and all were full of diſorder within, animated by a ſpiritual and temporal thirſt of plunder. This double ſovereignty, too, a papal ſtate within every ſtate, prevented each kingdom from recurring to it's principles; to which men have turned their attention only

only ſince they have been free from the ſupremacy of the pope. Europe, therefore, has ſhown itſelf as a chriſtian republic only toward the infidels; and this not often to it's honour: for the croiſades can ſcarcely be deemed deſerving of fame, even by the epic poet.

3. It has been reckoned to the honour of the hierarchy, that it ſerved to *balance the deſpotiſm of the princes and nobles, and exalt the lower claſſes of men.* True as this is, as to the matter of fact, it muſt be admitted with great limitations. The original conſtitution of the germanic nations was properly ſo repugnant to all deſpotiſm, that, if this diſeaſe of the mind were to be learned, it would be much leſs difficult to maintain, that the biſhops taught it to the kings. For inſtance, the oriental or monaſtic notion of blind ſubmiſſion to the will of the ruler was firſt introduced into the juriſprudence and education of the people by the biſhops, who derived it from abuſe of Scripture, from Rome, and from their own order: they converted the office of the ſovereign into an idle dignity, and infuſed into him preſumption with the oil of divine right. Thoſe who were employed by kings, to eſtabliſh their deſpotic power, were almoſt always eccleſiaſtics: if theſe were but well feed with preſents and privileges, they little ſcrupled the ſacrifice of others. Then, too, were not the ſecular princes in general preceded, or at leaſt zealouſly emulated by the biſhops, in extending their powers and privileges? and did not theſe ſanctify the unjuſt booty? The pope, laſtly, as lord paramount of kings, and deſpot

deſpot of deſpots, decided by right divine. In the time of the carlovingian, frank, and ſuabian emperors, he indulged himſelf in pretenſions, on which a laic could not have ventured without univerſal diſapprobation; and the ſingle life of the emperor Frederic II, of the houſe of Suabia, from his minority under the guardianſhip of a pope, of all others moſt learned in the law, to his own and the death of his grandſon Conradin, may ſerve as a ſummary of what may be ſaid of the ſupremacy of the pope over the princes of Europe. The blood of this houſe can never be waſhed out from the apoſtolical chair. What a tremendous height, to be the ſovereign lord over all the kings and countries of chriſtendom! Of this Gregory VII, certainly no ordinary man, Innocent III, and Boniface VIII, are glaring examples.

4. *The great inſtitutions of the hierarchy in all catholic countries* are palpable; and probably the ſciences would long ago have been reduced to beggary, had they not received a ſupport, though ſcanty, in the crumbs that fell from theſe ancient holy tables. Let us not, however, miſtake the ſpirit of the times. Agriculture was not the principal object of any benedictine monk, but cloiſtered devotion. He ceaſed to work, as ſoon as he could diſpenſe with labour: and how conſiderable was the portion of the ſums he gained, that went to Rome, or were conſumed for purpoſes, on which they ought not to have been employed! The uſeful benedictines were followed by a ſeries of other orders, advantageous to the hierarchy indeed, but then

extremely burdenſome to arts and ſcience, to the ſtate and to mankind; the mendicants in particular. All theſe, with the nuns of every deſcription, the brothers and ſiſters of mercy perhaps alone excepted, were ſuited only to thoſe harſh, unenlightened, barbarian times. Who would now found a convent according to the rules of Benedict, to promote the cultivation of the ground? or a cathedral, that an annual fair might be held under it's protection? Who would expect from a monk inſtructions in the theory of commerce; from the biſhop of Rome, the beſt ſyſtem of political economy; or from the teacher in ordinary of a chapter, the moſt perfect form of education? Still every thing, that promoted ſcience, morality, order, and gentleneſs of manners, though but collaterally, was of ineſtimable value.

In this claſs, however, the forced vows of chaſtity, idleneſs, and monaſtic poverty, are to be reckoned at no time, and in no religious ſect. They were indiſpenſable to the ſupremacy of the papal chair; which found it neceſſary to break every tie, by which the ſervants of the church were connected with ſociety, that they might live for it alone: but to mankind they were never adapted, never beneficial. Let any one lead a life of celibacy, beg, ſing pſalms, count beads, and ſcourge himſelf, who can and will: but to whom can it appear a ſubject of praiſe, or of approbation, that confraternities of this ſort ſhould be favoured with privileges, benefices, and an eternal ſalary, under the protection of the public, nay under the ſeal of ſanctity and ſupererogatory

rerogatory merit, at the expenſe of active, uſeful induſtry, a virtuous domeſtic life, nay the deſires and propenſities of our very nature itſelf? The amorous ſighs of pining nuns, the furtive gratifications of monks, the ſecret and crying ſins of eccleſiaſtics, their infringements of the matrimonial tie, the accumulation of property in mortmain, the pampered ambition of the iſolated body of the clergy, and every irregularity, that muſt neceſſarily grow out of it, gave Gregory the VIIth no concern; but their conſequences ſtand conſpicuous in the page of hiſtory.

5. The *pilgrimages* of holy idlers, too, deſerve no great commendation. Where they were not immediately ſubſervient to commerce and the arts in a clandeſtine manner, they contributed but very imperfectly and caſually to the knowledge of men and countries. Certainly it was very commodious, under the ſacred garb of a pilgrim to find every where ſecurity, in beneficent convents food and repoſe, on every road travelling companions, and at laſt, in the ſhade of a temple, or ſacred grove, the deſired comfort and abſolution. But if the pleaſing revery be reduced to the ſtandard of truth, we ſhall frequently detect, beneath the holy palmer's weeds, ſome malefactor, deſirous of atoning for flagrant crimes by an eaſy pilgrimage, or ſome inſane devotee, who has forſaken houſe and home, perhaps beſtowed all he had on ſome convent, renounced the firſt duties of his condition, or of man, to remain for the reſt of his life a rotten limb of ſociety, a halfmad, arrogant, or diſſolute fool. The lives of

pilgrims had ſeldom any claim to ſanctity; and the maintenance, which they ſtill derive from certain ſtates at the chief places of their reſort, is an actual robbery of the country. The ſingle circumſtances, that this pious rage of performing pilgrimages to Jeruſalem produced among other things the croiſades, gave birth to many eccleſiaſtical orders, and miſerably depopulated Europe, alone bear ſufficient teſtimony againſt them; and if miſſionaries made them their ſtalkinghorſe, they had certainly no good purpoſe in view.

6. Laſtly, much may be urged againſt *the colloquial latin of the monks*, the *band* by which all roman catholic countries were unqueſtionably united. This not only contributed, to keep the vernacular languages of the nations that inhabited Europe, and with them the people themſelves, in an uncultivated ſtate; but it was particularly inſtrumental in depriving the people of their laſt ſhare in public affairs, becauſe they were ignorant of latin. The public buſineſs of the nation loſt a great part of the national character, with the vernacular tongue; while with the monkiſh latin crept in that pious monkiſh ſpirit, which could flatter, enſnare, or even falſify, as it ſaw occaſion. The writing of all the public acts of the nations of Europe in general, their laws, decrees, teſtaments, commercial inſtruments, titledeeds, and likewiſe hiſtory, for ſo many centuries, in latin, could not be otherwiſe than advantageous to the clergy, as the body of the learned, and prejudicial to the nation. The cultivation of it's mother tongue alone can lift a nation out of a ſtate

ſtate of barbariſm: and this very reaſon kept Europe ſo long barbarous; a foreign language fettering for near ten centuries the natural organs of it's inhabitants, robbing them even of the remains of their monuments, and rendering a native code of laws, a native conſtitution, and a national hiſtory, utterly unattainable by them for ſo long a period. The ruſſian hiſtory alone is founded on documents in the language of the country; and this is owing to the ſtate having remained unconnected with the hierarchy of the pope of Rome, whoſe legates Wladimir would not receive. In all other countries of Europe the monkiſh language has ſtifled every thing ſuſceptible of being ſtifled by it, and is to be commended only as a language of neceſſity, or the ſlender plank, on which the literature of antiquity ſaved itſelf for better times.

Theſe reſtrictions of the praiſe of the middle ages I have written with reluctance. I am fully ſenſible of the value, that many inſtitutions of the hierarchy poſſeſs even with reſpect to us; and of the neceſſity of the times, in which they were formed; and I delight to wander amid the awful gloom of their venerable piles. As a coarſe medium of conveyance to us, capable of withſtanding the ſtorms of barbariſm, it is eſtimable, and evinces both the ability and circumſpection of thoſe, who committed treaſures to it's charge; but it would be abſurd to aſcribe to it an abſolute and permanent value for all ages. When the ſeed is ripe, the integument burſts.

CHAPTER III.

Temporal Protectors of the Church.

THE kings of germanic tribes and nations were originally generals appointed by election, the ſuper-intendants, the chief judges of the people. As ſoon as they came to be anointed by biſhops, they were kings by divine right, the protectors of the church of their country. When the pope inaugurated the roman emperor, he appointed himſelf his coadjutor: he the Sun, the emperor the Moon, the other kings the ſtars, of the catholic church. This ſyſtem, planned in darkneſs, was firſt brought out in the twilight, but ſoon glared into broad day. Already the ſon of Charlemagne laid down his ſceptre at the command of the biſhops, and would not again take it up, without their freſh injunction: under his ſucceſſors the compact was frequently repeated, that the kings ſhould conſider their ſpiritual and temporal orders as coadjutors in the affairs of the church and of the ſtate. Laſtly, the Pſeudo-Iſidorus made the principle univerſal, that the power of the keys authoriſed the pope, to lay princes and kings under his ban, and declare them incapable of ruling their ſtates. Over the roman imperial crown in particular the pope arrogated to himſelf many rights, and they were not diſputed. Henry of Saxony ſtyled himſelf only king of Germany, till he was inaugurated emperor by the pope. Otto, and

his ſucceſſors down to Frederic II, received from the pope the imperial ſceptre, and imagined they thus acquired precedency, or indeed a ſort of ſovereignty, over all the kings of chriſtendom. They, who often found it difficult to govern their german dominions, were offended when any thing, of which they did not confer the inveſtiture, was taken from the grecian empire: they made war upon the heathen, and placed biſhops in thoſe lands. When the pope created a chriſtian king in Hungary, the firſt chriſtian prince in Poland was a vaſſal of the german empire, and many wars afterward aroſe on account of this feudal dependency. The emperor Henry II received from the pope the golden imperial ball, as an emblem, that the World belonged to him: and Frederic II was laid under the pope's ban, becauſe he declined the croiſade he was enjoined to undertake. A council depoſed him: the pope declared the imperial throne vacant; and ſo low was it degraded, that no foreign prince would accept it. Thus the chriſtian Sun had proved a bad aſſiſtant to his Moon; as the protection of chriſtendom had at length reduced the german emperor to a ſtate of inability to protect himſelf. He was to travel about, hold diets and tribunals, and confer fiefs, ſceptres, and crowns, according to the directions of the pope; who, from his ſeat on the Tiber, governed the World by his legates, bulls, and interdictions. There is not a catholic kingdom in Europe, which has not conſidered it's king as a protector of the church, under the ſovereign guid- 1000.

ance of the pope: nay for a certain period this was the public law of Europe.*

All the internal regulations of kingdoms could not avoid being conformable to this notion: for the church was not in the state, but the state in the church.

1. As the spiritual and temporal orders every where composed the states of the kingdom, the most important political, military, and feudal customs were stamped as it were with the seal of the church. The kings held their grand court-days on the ecclesiastical festivals: the ceremony of crowning them was performed in churches: their coronation oath was taken on the gospels, and on relics: their dress, their crown, and their sword, were consecrated. They themselves were considered, in consequence of their office, as servants of the church; and enjoyed the privileges of the clerical order. All the festivities of the state were more or less connected with masses and religion. The first sword given to the bachelor knight was consecrated upon the altar; and when knighthood in time arrived at the solemnities of an order, one third of these consisted in religious ceremonies. Piety took it's place in the order with love and honour: for it was the professed object of all the

* Leibnitz has touched upon this notion in many of his writings, and occasionally admitted it in his historical system. Puetter's *Geschichte der Entwicklung der Deutschen Staatsverfassung*, 'History of the Developement of the German Constitution,' gives a fine clew to it, which, in former times, led every statist, after his manner, to the prerogatives or pretensions of the german empire.

orders

orders of chivalry, to draw the ſword in defence of chriſtendom, as well as of injured innocence and virtue. Chriſt and the apoſtles, the mother of God, and other ſaints, had long been the patrons of chriſtendom, of all conditions and offices, of particular companies of mechanics, churches, abbeys, caſtles, and families: their images ſoon became the banners of armies, ſtandards, ſeals: their names, the watchword, and the ſhout of onſet. Men took up their ſwords at the reading of the Goſpel; and went to battle with a *kyrie eleeſon* *. Practices of this kind ſo prepared the way for war againſt heretics, heathens, and infidels, that a loud cry, well timed, and accompanied with ſpiritual enſigns and promiſes, was ſufficient to ſet all Europe on the ſaracens, albigenſes, ſlavians, pruſſians, and poles. Nay the knight and the monk could coaleſce in the ſingular ſhape of a ſpiritual order of chivalry: and in particular caſes biſhops, abbots, and even popes themſelves, exchanged the croſier for the ſword.

The abovementioned foundation of the kingdom of Hungary by the hand of the pope affords us a brief example of theſe manners. The emperor and the empire had long conſidered, how the ſavage and often defeated hungarians might be reduced to a ſtate of tranquillity. Their converſion to chriſtianity was the ſole mean, by which it could be effected: and this being accompliſhed after conſiderable labour, a king educated in the chriſtian

* 'The Lord have mercy upon us:' the form of ſolemn invocation in the romiſh liturgy. T.

religion,

religion, St. Stephen, purſuing himſelf the work of converſion, an apoſtolical crown, probably an avarian robbery, was ſent him; he received, too, the holy lance, or hungarian battle-axe, and St. Stephen's ſword, to protect and extend the church toward all quarters of the Globe; and, at the ſame time, the imperial ball, the epiſcopal glove, and the croſier. He was appointed the pope's legate; and delayed not, to found a canonry at Rome, a convent at Conſtantinople, and hoſpitals, hoſtelries, and religious houſes, at Ravenna and Jeruſalem; to turn the road of the pilgrims through his country; to invite prieſts, biſhops, and monks, from Greece, Bohemia, Bavaria, Saxony, Auſtria, and Venice: to erect the archbiſhopric of Gran, with a number of biſhoprics, and convents; and to make of the biſhops, who were not exempt from the duties of the field, one of the eſtates of his kingdom. He promulgated a code, the ſpiritual part of which was borrowed from capitularies of the weſt, particularly thoſe of the franks, and eccleſiaſtical decrees of Mentz; and left it to his ſucceſſors, as the fundamental law of the new chriſtian kingdom. This was the ſpirit of the times: the whole conſtitution of Hungary, the relations and condition of it's inhabitants were built upon it: and it was the ſame in Poland, in Naples and Sicily, in Denmark, and in Sweden, with ſome trifling variations, according to the circumſtances of time and place. All floated on the ocean of the church; the epiſcopal power formed the ſtarboard ſide of the veſſel; the feudal ſyſtem, the larboard; the king,

or

or the emperor, ſerved as a ſail; and the pope ſtood at the helm.

2. In all kingdoms the *adminiſtration of juſtice* was arch-catholic. The cuſtoms and ſtatutes of the people muſt bend before the decrees of the pope and eccleſiaſtical councils: nay, before the roman juriſprudence prevailed, the canon law was introduced. It cannot be denied, that many rude aſperities of the people were thus rubbed off: for even when Religion ſtooped to conſecrate the trial by combat, or exchange it for the ordeal, ſhe laid theſe under ſome reſtraint, and at leaſt reduced ſuperſtition within leſs pernicious limits *. Abbots and biſhops were the arbitrators of peace and miniſters of divine juſtice upon Earth: eccleſiaſtics, for the moſt part, were the clerks of courts of juſtice, the makers of laws, ordinances, and capitularies, and often ambaſſadors on the moſt important occaſions. The judicial authority, which they enjoyed among the heathen of the north, was retained among the chriſtians; till, at a late period, they were thruſt out of their ſeats by the doctors of law. Monks and confeſſors were often the oracles of princes; and in the vile affair of the croiſades, St. Bernard was the oracle of Europe.

3. The little *phyſic* of the middle ages, except

* No one, to my knowledge, has ſhown the good effects of the eccleſiaſtical domination in tranquillizing the then turbulent World, and promoting the cultivation of the land, in a more inſtructive and philoſophical manner, than John Mueller, in his *Schweizergeſchichte*, 'Hiſtory of Switzerland.' This ſide is not to be overlooked, though it is but one ſide.

what

what was practiſed by the arabs and jews, was in the hands of the clergy; whence, as among the northern pagans, it was a tiſſue of ſuperſtition. The devil and the croſs, relics and ſet forms of words, acted the moſt conſpicuous parts in it; for the true knowledge of nature, a few traditions excepted, had vaniſhed from Europe. Hence ſo many diſeaſes, that with infectious rage traverſed whole countries, under the appellations of the leproſy, the plague, the black death, St. Vitus's dance: no one reſiſted their progreſs, for no one was acquainted with them, or knew their proper remedies. Uncleanlineſs in dreſs, the want of linen, confined habitations, and even the imagination clouded by ſuperſtition, could not fail to promote them. It would have been a truly guardian office, if all Europe had combined, under the direction of the emperor, the pope, and the church, againſt the influx of ſuch peſts, as real works of the devil, and left neither ſmall-pox, plague, nor leproſy, in their land: but they were permitted to enter, rage, and deſtroy, till the poiſon exhauſted itſelf. To the church, however, we are indebted for the few inſtitutions formed to counteract them: that was done as a work of compaſſion, which men yet wanted ſkill to perform as a work of art *.

* The hiſtories of the ſmall-pox, plague, leproſy, &c., are known from the writings of many ſkilful phyſicians; who have likewiſe propoſed means for eradicating theſe evils, and in ſome degree accompliſhed their purpoſe. Good accounts of the art of phyſic, and the medical eſtabliſhments, of the middle ages, with remarks, may be found in Mœhſen's *Geſchichte der Wiſſenſchaften in der Mark Brandenburg*, 'Hiſtory of Sciences in the Marche of Brandenburg.'

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4. The *ſciences* were not ſo properly in the ſtate, as in the church. What the church thought fit was written and taught: all iſſued from the ſchools of monks: accordingly the monkiſh manner of thinking prevailed in the few literary productions, that then appeared. Even hiſtory was written for the church, not for the ſtate, for very few except monks read; and hence the beſt authors of the middle ages ſmack of the cloiſter. Legends and romances, to which the invention was then confined, paced round in a narrow circle: for few writings of the ancients had any circulation, ſo that few ideas had an opportunity of being compared, and the images chriſtianity then afforded were ſoon exhauſted. Beſides, this allowed no poetical mythology: a few circumſtances from the ancient hiſtory, or fables, of Rome and Troy, interſperſed with the occurrences of more recent times, formed all the rude ſcenes of the poetry of the middle ages. And as ſoon as theſe began to be diffuſed in the language of the country, ſpiritual ſubjects were brought forward, with a ſingular intermixture of heroic fables, and tales of chivalry. On the whole, neither popes nor emperors * gave themſelves any concern about literature, conſidered as a mean of diffuſing knowledge; the ſcience of juriſprudence alone excepted, which was indiſpenſable, to ſupport the pretenſions of both. A pope like Gerbert, who loved the ſciences as a man of learning, was a phenix indeed: the ſhip of

* The particular exceptions to this melancholy truth will be noticed in the following book. Here the ſubject is merely the ſpirit of the times.

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the church was ballaſted with the ſciences of the convent.

5. In like manner, of the *arts* thoſe only were cheriſhed, without which neither churches, nor caſtles, nor towers, could exiſt. Gothic architecture, as it is called, ſo thoroughly accorded with the ſpirit of the times, the religion and way of life, the wants and climate, of it's contemporaries; that it faſhioned itſelf as individually and ſeaſonably, as monkery or knighthood, or as the hierarchy and feudal ſyſtem. Among the inferiour arts ſuch maintained and improved themſelves, as were employed in adorning the arms of the knight, and in the decorations and ceremonies of the church, the caſtle, or the convent: their productions were ſculpture and moſaic, painted windows and illuminated books, repreſentations of ſaints, tapeſtry, ſhrines for relics, pixes, chalices, and goblets. From theſe, not excluding church muſic, or the huntſman's horn, the revival of the arts in Europe commenced: how different from what was once in Greece *!

6. The *trade and commerce* of Europe, too, received their broad and deeply indented outline from the all-graſping eccleſiaſtical and feudal ſyſtems. The nobleſt tutelary offices of emperors and kings were unqueſtionably their delivering towns from plundering violence, and artiſts and tradeſmen from

* A hiſtory of the arts in the middle ages, particularly of gothic architecture as it is called, in their different periods, would be a work well deſerving peruſal: a ſelection of ſuch eſſays as deſerve general notice, from the works of the Britiſh Antiquary Society, would ſerve as a preliminary to it.

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the yoke of vaſſalage; their protecting and promoting the free exerciſe of induſtry and commerce, by juſtice, exemption from impoſts, peaceable fairs, and ſecure roads; their endeavouring to annihilate the barbarian right of wreck, and to exonerate the uſeful inhabitants of the town and country from other oppreſſive burdens: to all which the church very honourably contributed *. The bold idea of Frederic II, however, to aboliſh all guilds and confraternities in his towns, went far beyond his age, like many others of his active mind. Corporate bodies were ſtill neceſſary, in which, as in the ſyſtems of chivalry and monachiſm, all ſhould be anſwerable for each, and, even in the moſt trifling occupations, the learner ſhould riſe by degrees; as the monk or the ſoldier roſe in his order. In both, every higher ſtep was accompanied with ſimilar feſtivities; and the ſpirit of guilds and aſſociations was extended even to commerce. It's greateſt combination, the hanſe itſelf, aroſe from fraternities of merchants, who firſt travelled about like pilgrims: danger and neceſſity by ſea and land extended the union higher and farther, till at length, under the

* Fiſher's Hiſtory of the Trade of Germany has already been quoted as a collection of important inquiries: from it, and other publications of modern days, might be collected materials for a General Hiſtory of Trade and Navigation, very different from that which was publiſhed at Breſlaw in 1754, or from what was in Anderſon's power to give in his valuable Hiſtory of Commerce. A hiſtory of the arts, manufactures, guilds, towns, and municipal laws, of the middle ages, is likewiſe a deſirable work.

protection

protection of european chriſtendom, ſuch a wide-ſpread *commercial republic* aroſe, as the World had otherwiſe never ſeen. Afterwards the univerſities were ſimilar guilds: gothic inſtitutions, ſuch as neither greeks, romans, nor aſiatics, ever knew; but, as inſtitutions of monachiſm and chivalry, indiſpenſable to the times, and beneficial to future ages by the preſervation of the ſciences. In the middle ages, too, a particular *municipal law* aroſe; very different from that of the romains, but erected on the baſis of liberty and ſecurity, according to german principles, and productive of induſtry, arts, and ſubſiſtence, on every favourable ſoil. It bears marks of it's origin amid the preſſure of princes, nobles, and eccleſiaſtics; yet operated powerfully on the civilization of Europe. In ſhort whatever could ariſe under the compreſſed arch of the hierarchy, feudal ſyſtem, and tutelary ſuperintendance, has ariſen: the firm edifice of gothic architecture ſeems to want but one thing, light. Let us ſee in what ſingular ways it acquired this.

CHAPTER IV.

Kingdoms of the Arabs.

THE arabian peninſula is one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed regions of the Earth, apparently intended by Nature herſelf, to ſtamp a peculiar character on it's nation. The great deſert between Syria and Egypt,

Egypt, extending from Aleppo to the Euphrates, afforded, like a ſouthern Tatary, ample room for the predatory and paſtoral life, and has been poſſeſſed by tribes of wandering arabs from the remoteſt periods. The mode of life of theſe people, to whom a town appeared a priſon; their pride of an ancient indigenous origin; of their god, their rich and poetic language, their noble horſes, their ſword and bow, with every thing elſe which they fancied ſacred to themſelves; ſeem to have prepared the arabs for a part, which in due time they performed in three quarters of the Globe, in a manner very different from the tatars of the north.

Even in the age of ignorance, as they call their ancient hiſtory, they extended themſelves beyond their peninſula: in Irak and Syria they had founded ſmall kingdoms; ſome of their tribes dwelt in Egypt; the abyſſinians were deſcended from them; the whole of the african deſert appeared to be their inheritance. Their peninſula was ſeparated from the great body of Aſia by the deſert, which protected them againſt the frequent expeditions of it's conquerors: they remained free, and proud of their deſcent, of the nobility of their families, of their unconquered valour, and their uncontaminated language. With this they were the centre of the ſouthern and eaſtern trade; and conſequently in the way of acquiring the knowledge of all the nations, that carried on this trade, in which, from the happy ſituation of their country, they could not avoid taking part. Thus at an early period an intellectual culture aroſe here, which the Altai or Ural could never have produced: the arabian language formed itſelf to

an ingenuity in figurative eloquence and prudential apophthegms, long before they, by whom it was ſpoken, knew how to commit them to writing. On their Sinai the hebrews received their law, and among them they almoſt always dwelt. When chriſtians aroſe, and perſecuted each other, chriſtian ſects alſo repaired to them. Could it be otherwiſe, then, that from the mixture of jewiſh, chriſtian, and native ideas, among ſuch a people, with ſuch a language, a new flower in due time ſhould appear? and when it appeared, could it fail, from this point between three quarters of the Globe, to obtain the moſt extenſive ſpread from commerce, wars, foreign expeditions, and books? Thus the odoriferous ſhrub of arabian fame, ſpringing from ſuch an arid ſoil, is a very natural phenomenon, the moment a man aroſe, who knew how to rear it into bloſſom.

In the beginning of the ſeventh century this man did ariſe; a ſingular compound of whatever the nation, tribe, time, and country, could produce; merchant, prophet, orator, poet, hero, and legiſlator; all after the arabian manner. *Mohammed* * was born of the nobleſt tribe in Arabia, the guardian of the pureſt dialect, and of the Caaba, the ancient ſanctuary of the nation; a boy of conſiderable beauty, not rich, but educated in the family of a man of conſequence. Already in his youth he had enjoyed the honour of replacing the ſacred black

* Not to mention Sale's Introduction to the Koran, Gagnier's Life of Mohammed, and other writers, who have recurred to arabian documents, Brequigni, in his Eſſay on Mohammed, which is ſeparately tranſlated into german, has given ſome excellent obſervations on his ſituation and miſſion.

ſtone

ſtone in it's former ſituation, in the name of the whole people: circumſtances brought him early acquainted, on his commercial journeys, with other nations and religions, and led him to the acquiſition of conſiderable property. The praiſes beſtowed on him as an extraordinary youth, the dignity of his tribe and family, and his early employment in the affair of the Caaba, no doubt operated powerfully on his mind; the impreſſion he had received of the ſtate of chriſtianity united with theſe; before him ſtood mount Sinai decorated with a hundred tales from ancient hiſtory; the belief in divine inſpirations and miſſions was common to all theſe religions, natural to the national way of thinking, and flattering to his own character: all theſe probably acted ſo deeply on his mind, in the fifteen years during which he led a life of contemplation, that he believed *himſelf*, the koreiſh, *himſelf* the diſtinguiſhed man, choſen to reſtore the doctrines and duties of the religion of his fathers, and to reveal himſelf as a ſervant of God. Not the dream of his celeſtial journey alone, but his life, and the Koran itſelf, evince the fervour of his imagination, and that no artfully concerted deception was neceſſary to the perſuaſion of his prophetic call. Mohammed came forward on the ſtage, not in the ebullition of youthful blood, but in the fortieth year of his age; firſt as the prophet of his houſe, who revealed himſelf only to few, and gained ſcarcely ſix followers in three years: and when, at the celebrated feaſt of Ali, he had announced his miſſion to forty perſons of his tribe, he thenceforward

expoſed himſelf freely to every thing a prophet has to expect from the oppoſition of the incredulous. His followers juſtly compute their time from the year of his flight to *Yatreb* (Medina): in Mecca his undertaking would have miſcarried, if his life had not been loſt. Thus, if deteſtation of the barbarous idolatry, which he ſaw practiſed by his tribe, and imagined he perceived in chriſtianity; with an ardent zeal for the doctrine of the unity of God, and a mode of ſerving him by purity, devotion, and beneficence; appear to have been the grounds of his prophetic miſſion: corrupted traditions of chriſtians and jews, the poetical way of thinking of his nation, the dialect of his tribe, and his perſonal talents, may be conſidered as the wings, that bore him above and out of himſelf. His Koran, that wonderful mixture of poetry, eloquence, ignorance, ſagacity, and arrogance, is a mirror of his mind; diſplaying his talents and defects, his faults and propenſities, the ſelf-deception and neceſſary pretext with which he impoſed upon himſelf and others, much more perſpicuouſly, than any other Koran of any prophet. He delivered it in ſeparate fragments, as they were called for by occaſional circumſtances, or when his mind was rapt by contemplation, without thinking of a written ſyſtem: it conſiſted of the ebullitions of his imagination, or prophetic diſcourſes of cenſure and exhortation, at which at other times he himſelf was aſtoniſhed, as ſomething above his powers, as a divine gift entruſted to his charge. Hence, like all men of ſtrong minds under the influence of ſelf-deception, he

he required faith, which at length he contrived to extort even from his bittereſt enemies. Scarcely was he lord of Arabia, when he ſent his apoſtles to all the neighbouring kingdoms, Perſia, Ethiopia, Yemen, nay to the greek emperor himſelf; conſidering his doctrines, local as they were, as the religion of all nations. The ſtern expreſſions that fell from him, when his ambaſſadors returned, and brought him the refuſals of the kings; together with the celebrated paſſage of the Koran, in the chapter of the Declaration of Immunity *; afforded his ſucceſſors ſufficient grounds, to purſue the converſion of nations, from which the prophet was prevented by his early death. To this, alas, chriſtianity taught him the way; chriſtianity, the firſt of all religions, that impoſed it's belief upon foreign nations, as the neceſſary condition of ſalvation: the arab, however, converted not by means of women, monks, and underhand practices, but in a manner ſuited to an inhabitant of the wilderneſs, with ſword in hand, and the authoritative demand, 'belief, or tribute!'

After Mohammed's death, war ſpread itſelf over Babylon, Syria, Perſia, and Egypt, like the burning wind of the deſert. The arabs went to battle, as to the ſervice of God, armed with texts of the Ko-

* 'Fight againſt them who believe not in God, nor in the laſt day, who forbid not that which God, and his apoſtle, have forbidden, and who profeſs not the true religion, of thoſe unto whom the Scriptures have been delivered, until they pay tribute by right of ſubjection, and they be reduced low.' Koran [Sale's verſion, chap. IX.]

ran, and the hopes of Paradiſe. At the ſame time they wanted not perſonal virtue: for as the firſt khalifs of the houſe of Mohammed were juſt, temperate, and excellent men, their blind zeal excepted; ſo their armies were led by valiant and able generals, as Khaled, Amru, Abu-Obeidah, and many others. They found the empires of the perſians and greeks ſo badly conſtituted, the chriſtian ſects ſo inveterate in their hatred to each other, perfidy, voluptuouſneſs, ſelfiſhneſs, treachery, pride, vanity, cruelty, and oppreſſion, ſo univerſally prevalent, that in the dreadful hiſtory of theſe wars we ſeem to read a fable of a troop of lions breaking into the folds of ſheep and goats, into farms abounding with fat oxen, gaudy peacocks, and helpleſs lambs. Theſe degenerate people were for the moſt part a contemptible race, deſerving to ride upon aſſes, as incapable of managing the generous ſteed, and unworthy the croſs upon their churches, which they were unable to defend. What pomp of patriarchs, prieſts, and monks, in theſe rich and extenſive regions, was now laid at once in the duſt!

With this was ſunk in a moment, as by an earthquake, the remains of that ancient grecian cultivation and roman grandeur, which chriſtianity was incapable of demoliſhing. The moſt ancient cities of the World, and with them innumerable treaſures, fell into the hands of valiant robbers, who at firſt ſcarcely knew the worth of gold. Above all we have to lament the fate, that befel the remains of ſcience. John the Grammarian begged the library of Alexandria (what would the fool have done with the

preſent?),

preſent?), on which the conqueror, Amru, had never once thought. The petition was referred to the khalif Omar, who anſwered it by that celebrated argument, which deſerves for ever to bear the name of the khalif's ſyllogiſm *; and the books were committed to the flames. Above a thouſand warm baths were heated with them conſtantly for ſix months; and thus the moſt precious thoughts, the moſt indiſpenſable records, the moſt elaborate ſyſtems in the World, with every thing that depended upon them for ages to come, was at once loſt through the fooliſh requeſt of a grammarian, and the pious ſimplicity of a khalif. Gladly would the arabs have recovered this treaſure, when a century afterwards they were ſenſible of it's value.

Almoſt immediately after the death of Mohammed diſſenſions aroſe, which, on the deceaſe of Oſman, the third khalif, might ſoon have checked the conqueſts of the arabs, if the valiant, honeſt, long oppreſſed Ali, and his ſon Haſſan, had not eſtabliſhed the houſe of the Ommiades. In the perſon of Moawiyah this now ſeated itſelf in the high prieſt's chair, of which it maintained the hereditary poſſeſſion for ninety years. Damaſcus was made the ſeat of the khalifs: the arabs ſoon became a maritime power: and, under an hereditary government, ſplendour aſſumed the place

661 to 750.

* 'What is contained in the books, of which thou ſpeakeſt, either agrees with what is written in the book of God, the Koran, or it is contradictory to it. If it agree with it, the Koran is ſufficient without it; if it be contradictory to it, it is fit that the books ſhould be deſtroyed.'

of the former ſimplicity of the court. In Syria, Meſopotamia, Aſia Minor, and Africa, indeed, the work of conqueſt ſtill went on: Conſtantinople was more than once beſieged, but in vain: under Al Waled, Turkeſtan was taken, and an inroad made even into India: Tarik and Muſa conquered Spain with extraordinary ſucceſs; and the latter conceived the vaſt project of forming, by the addition of France, Germany, Hungary, and all the country even beyond Conſtantinople, a more extenſive empire, than the romans had accumulated in the courſe of ſeveral centuries. But how completely was this project fruſtrated! All the incurſions of the arabs into France miſcarried: in Spain itſelf they loſt province after province by inceſſant revolts: Conſtantinople was not yet ripe for conqueſt: and, even under ſome of the Ommiades, turkiſh tribes, afterwards deſtined to become the conquerors of the arabs themſelves, began to try their ſtrength in the field. On the whole, the firſt overwhelming flood of their military ſucceſs ſubſided with the thirty years of their early enthuſiaſm, when the houſe of Mohammed ſat on the throne: under the hereditary Ommiades, their conqueſts proceeded, amid various internal diſſenſions, with ſlower and often interrupted ſteps.

632 to 661.

The houſe of the Abaſſides followed, who removed their reſidence from Damaſcus, and whoſe ſecond khalif, Al-Manſur, built Bagdad, as the ſeat of government, in the centre of his dominions. The court of the khalifs now attained the ſummit of it's ſplendour; and it was alſo viſited by the

arts

arts and ſciences, in regard to which the names of Al-Raſchid and Al-Mamoun will ever be celebrated. Under this race, however, leſs was done toward foreign conqueſt, than for the conſervation of the monarchy itſelf. Already under Al-Manſur, the ſecond of this family, Abderahman, the ſupplanted heir of the Ommiades, founded a ſeparate, independent khalifate in Spain, which continued almoſt three hundred years, and was afterwards divided into ten kingdoms, which were for ſome time ſhared among different arabian families, but never reunited to the khalifate of Bagdad. On the weſtern coaſt of african Barbary (Mogreb) the Edriſiates, a branch of the family of Ali, tore off a kingdom, where they laid the foundations of the city of Fez. In the reign of Haroun Al-Raſchid, his viceroy at Kairwan (Cyrene) in Africa made himſelf independent. The ſon of this viceroy conquered Sicily. His ſucceſſors, the Aglabites, removed their reſidence to Tunis, where they conſtructed the great aqueduct; and their kingdom endured above a hundred years. In Egypt the attempts of the viceroys to render themſelves independent were at firſt attended with doubtful ſucceſs, till the family of the Fatimites ſwallowed up thoſe of the Edriſiates and Aglabites, and founded a third khalifate, extending from Fez to Aſia, and including Tunis, Sicily, and Egypt.

755 to 1023. 788. 789. 800. to 894. 800. to 908.

Thus there were now three khalifates, at Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova. However, the kingdom of the Fatimites alſo fell to ruin: curds and

zeirites

zeirites divided it between them; and the valiant Saladin (Selah-eddin), the grand viſir of the khalifs, ſupplanted his maſters, and founded the 1171. kingdom of the curds in Egypt; which afterward fell into the hands of the life-guards (*mamalukes*, or ſlaves), who were at length diſpoſſeſſed 1250 of it by the oſmans. Thus affairs went on to throughout all the provinces. In Africa, 1517. zeirites, morabethians, muahedians, acted their reſpective parts; in Arabia, Perſia, and Syria, dynaſties of every nation and family; till at length the turks (ſeljuks, curds, arabecks, turcomans, mamalukes, &c.) got every thing into their hands, and the mungals took Bagdad itſelf by ſtorm. The 1258. ſon of the laſt khalif of Bagdad fled to Egypt, where the mamalukes left him his empty 1517. title; till, on the conqueſt of this country by the oſmans, the 18th of theſe dethroned princes was carried to Conſtantinople, but ſoon ſent back to Egypt, there miſerably to cloſe the liſt 1538. of theſe arabian emperor-popes. The ſplendid empire of the arabs was loſt in the turkiſh, perſian, and mungal; parts of it fell under the dominion of the chriſtians, or became independent; and moſt of it's nations ſtill continue to live amid perpetual revolutions.

The cauſes both of the ſpeedy decline of this vaſt monarchy, and of the revolutions by which it was inceſſantly perturbed and torn, were inherent in it's nature, ariſing from it's origin and conſtitution.

1. *The arabian power aroſe from the virtues of enthuſiaſm,*

thuſiaſm, and could be upheld only by theſe virtues; by valour and fidelity to the law, by virtues of the deſert. While their khalifs, either in Mecca, Cufa, or Medina, adhered to the rigid mode of life of their firſt four great predeceſſors, and poſſeſſed the magic means of binding all their generals and viceroys to their commands with this ſtrong bond, what power could injure this nation? But when the poſſeſſion of ſo many fine countries introduced, with a widely extended commerce, wealth, pomp, and luxury; and the hereditary throne of the khalifs attained ſuch ſplendour in Damaſcus, and ſtill more in Bagdad, that the deſcription of it appears like a fable of the Arabian Nights Entertainments; the drama, that has been acted a thouſand times on the ſtage of the World, was repeated: Voluptuouſneſs introduced Effeminacy, and at length enfeebled Refinement ſunk beneath the arm of rude Strength. The firſt of the Abaſſides created a grand viſir; and under his ſucceſſors the authority of this officer grew up to the tremendous power of an *emir al omrah, (emir of emirs)*, and was deſpotic over the khalif himſelf. As moſt of theſe viſirs were turks, and the life-guards of the khalif were compoſed of the ſame people; the evil, that was ſoon to overpower the whole body of the monarchy, was ſeated in it's very vitals. The territories of the arabs lay along thoſe elevated regions, on which theſe warlike people, curds, turks, mungals, berbers, were on the watch like beaſts of prey; and as moſt of them were held unwillingly under the dominion of the arabs, they could not fail to avenge themſelves, when opportunity

portunity offered. Accordingly, what happened to the roman empire happened here; viſirs and mercenaries were converted into ſovereigns and deſpots.

2. *That the revolution took place more ſpeedily with the arabs, than with the romans, muſt be aſcribed to the conſtitution of their monarchy.* This was khalific; that is deſpotic in the higheſt degree, the characters of emperor and pope being moſt intimately combined in that of khalif. The belief of inevitable deſtiny, and the word of the prophet, which enjoins obedience in the Koran, promoted ſubmiſſion to the word of his ſucceſſors, and of their viceroys; and thus this ſpiritual deſpotiſm pervaded the government of the whole empire. But how eaſy was the tranſition from the exerciſe of deſpotic power in another's name to that of arbitrary authority in a man's own, particularly in the remote provinces of this extenſive empire! Add to this, the viceroys were almoſt every where abſolute lords, the chief art of government of the khalifs conſiſting in diſtributing, recalling, or changing them, with ſkill. Thus, for example, when Mamoun allowed his valiant general Taher too much power in Choraſan, he gave the reins of independence into his hand; the countries beyond the Gihon were detached from the khalifate; and a way into the heart of the kingdom was opened to the turks. Thus it went on throughout all the viceroyalties, till the great empire reſembled an archipelago of detached iſlands, ſcarcely connected by religion and language, and in a ſtate of the higheſt diſturbance within and without. This

empire

empire of varying iſlands went on for ſeven or eight hundred years with frequent change of boundary, till moſt, though not all of them, fell under the power of the oſmans. The empire of the arabs had no conſtitution: a circumſtance equally unfortunate to the deſpot, and to his ſlaves. The conſtitution of mohammedan kingdoms conſiſts in ſubmiſſion to the will of God, and of his vicegerent; *iſlamiſm*.

3. *The government of the arabian empire was attached to one tribe, and properly only to one family of this tribe, the houſe of Mohammed:* and as almoſt from the beginning the rightful heir, Ali, was ſet aſide, kept out of the khalifate for a conſiderable time, and quickly expelled from it with his family, the great ſchiſm between the ommiades and alites aroſe; which even now continues with all the animoſity of religious rancour between the turks and perſians, after the lapſe of more than a thouſand years. In remote countries impoſtors aroſe, who forced themſelves upon the people as relations of Mohammed, either with ſword in hand, or an appearance of ſanctity: nay, Mohammed having founded the empire in the character of a prophet, fanatics occaſionally ventured, to ſpeak like him in the name of the Lord. Inſtances of this occurred even in the prophet's lifetime: but Egypt and Africa were the peculiar theatres of ſuch fanatics and impoſtors *.

* Schlœtzer's *Geſchichte von Nordafrica*, 'Hiſtory of the North of Africa;' Cardonne's *Geſchichte der Araber in Afrika und Spanien*, 'Hiſtory of the Arabs in Africa and Spain;' &c.

The

The religion of Mohammed might appear to have exhauſted the abominations of fanaticiſm and blind credulity, if, alas! they had not reappeared in other religions alſo: the deſpotiſm of the *old man of the mountain*, however, has no where been exceeded. This monarch of a diſtinct ſtate of murderers, practiſed, nay born to the trade, may ſay to any one of his ſubjects: 'go, and kill:' he will do it, though to the ſacrifice of his own life. And this kingdom of aſſaſſins has continued for centuries.

CHAPTER V.

Effects of the Arabian Kingdoms.

QUICK as the ſpread and diviſion of the khaliſate were, it attained with equal celerity the period of it's bloom, for which, on a more frigid ſoil, ten centuries would ſcarcely have ſufficed. The genial power of nature, which accelerates the bloſſoming of the eaſtern plant, diſplays itſelf equally in the hiſtory of theſe people.

1. *The vaſt empire of arabian commerce* had an effect upon the World, which, proceeding from the local ſituation and national character of the people, out-lived their poſſeſſions, and ſtill in part ſurvives. The tribe of Koreiſh, from which Mohammed ſprung, and indeed the prophet himſelf, were leaders of travelling caravans; and Mecca the holy had long been the central point of an extenſive commerce between various nations. The gulf between Arabia

Arabia and Perſia, the Euphrates, and the ports of the Red Sea, were the famed repoſitories, or roads of conveyance, of the produce of India, in all ages: whence many indian wares bore the epithet of arabian, and Arabia itſelf was called by the name of India. Tribes of theſe active arabs had early poſſeſſion of the eaſtern ſhores of Africa, and were inſtruments of the commerce of India even in the times of the romans. Accordingly, when all the country between the Nile and the Euphrates, and from the Hindus, Ganges, and Oxus, to the Atlantic ocean, Pyrenees, and Niger, belonged to theſe people, whoſe colonies extended even to the land of Caffraria, they were enabled, to become for a time the greateſt commercial nation on the face of the Globe. Hence Conſtantinople ſuffered, and Alexandria ſhrunk to a village; while Omar was enabled to build at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates the city of Balſora, which received and diſtributed all the merchandize of the eaſt. Under the Ommiades Damaſcus became the ſeat of government; an ancient great emporium, a natural centre of the caravans in it's paradiſiacal ſituation, the zenith of wealth and induſtry. 1. In Africa the city of Kairwan was built ſo early as the time of Moawiyah, and afterwards Cairo, through which the trade of the World was carried on acroſs the iſthmus of Suez *. In the 670. 969.

* See Sprengel's *Geſchichte der Entdeckung* †, in every ſection of which much is ſaid in few words, and the *Geſchichte des Handels*, 'Hiſtory of Commerce,' already quoted.

† I ſuppoſe his *G. der wichtigſten geographiſchen Entdeckungen*, 'Hiſtory of the moſt important geographical Diſcoveries.' T.

interiour

inetriour parts of Africa the arabs had monopolized the gold and gum trade, diſcovered the gold mines of Sofala, and founded the cities of Tombut, Telmaſen, and Darah: on it's eaſtern ſhores they had planted conſiderable colonies and commercial towns; and had even extended their ſettlements to Madagaſcar. When India was conquered under Waled, as far as Turkeſtan and the Ganges, the weſtern World was connected with the extremities of the eaſt. To China they had early traded, partly in caravans, partly over the ſea to Kanfu (Canton). From this empire they imported brandy, afterward ſo inordinately increaſed by the art of chemiſtry, which they firſt cultivated; while, fortunately for Europe, it was ſome centuries later before it ſpread over this quarter of the World, with the pernicious uſe of tea, and of coffee, an arabian drink. They alſo brought from China into Europe the knowledge of porcelain, and probably of gunpowder likewiſe. They were maſters of the coaſt of Malabar; viſited the Maldivia iſlands; formed ſettlements in Malacca; and taught the malays to write. More recently they planted colonies and their religion in the Moluccas; ſo that, before the arrival of the portugueſe in theſe ſeas, the eaſt-india trade was entirely in their hands, and purſued by them to the eaſt and the ſouth, without any european rival. Even the great diſcoveries of the portugueſe by ſea, which changed the whole face of Europe, were led on by war with the arabs, and the chriſtian zeal of ſubduing them in Africa.

2. The

2. The *religion and language* of the arabs produced another important effect on many nations of three quarters of the Globe. For while every where, throughout their extenſive conqueſts, they preached iſlamiſm or tributary ſubmiſſion, the religion of Mohammed extended eaſtward to the Gihon and the Hindus; weſtward, to Fez and Morocco; northward, beyond Caucaſus and Imaus; ſouthward, to Senegal, Caffraria, the two peninſulas of India, and the neighbouring archipelago; and acquired a greater number of followers than chriſtianity itſelf. Now with regard to the doctrines taught by this religion, it cannot be denied, that it has raiſed the heathen converted to them above the groſs idolatrous worſhip of the powers of nature, the ſtars of Heaven, and inhabitants of the Earth; and has rendered them zealous adorers of one God, the creator, ruler, and judge of the World, with daily devotion, with deeds of charity, with cleanlineſs of perſon, and with reſignation to his will. By the prohibition of wine, it has ſought to prevent drunkenneſs and quarrelling; and by enjoining abſtinence from unclean meats, it has endeavoured to promote temperance, and preſerve health. In like manner it has forbidden uſury, avaricious gambling, and many ſuperſtitious practices: and it has raiſed ſeveral nations out of a ſavage or depraved ſtate to a middle degree of civilization, ſo that the moſlem, or muſſulman, profoundly deſpiſes the vulgar herd of chriſtians in their groſs exceſſes, and particularly in the impurity of their lives. The

religion of Mohammed imprints on the minds of men a degree of tranquillity, an uniformity of character, which, though they may be as dangerous as useful, are in themselves valuable, and deserving esteem: but on the other hand, the polygamy it allows, the prohibition of all inquiry concerning the Koran, and the despotism it establishes in spiritual and temporal affairs, cannot easily avoid being attended with pernicious consequences *.

Be this religion, however, what it may, it was propagated in a language, the purest dialect of Arabia, the pride and delight of the whole nation. No wonder, therefore, that the other dialects were thrown by it into shade, and the language of the Koran became the victorious banner of arabian sovereignty. Such a common standard of the oral and written language is advantageous to a widely extended, flourishing nation. Had the german conquerors of Europe possessed a classic book of their language, such as the Koran was to the arabs, their tongue would never have been so overpowered by the latin, and so many of their tribes would not have been left in oblivion. But neither Ulphilas, nor Kædmon, nor Ottfried, could produce, what Mohammed gave to all his followers in the Koran; which is to this day a pledge of their ancient genuine dialect, by which they are led to the most authentic documents of their race, and remain one

* Good remarks on this subject may be found in Michaelis's *Orientalischer Bibliothek*, 'Oriental Bibliotheca,' Vol. VIII, p. 33 and following.

people

people throughout the whole Earth. The language of the arabs is their nobleſt inheritance; and even now it forms in various dialects ſuch a bond of intercourſe and commerce, between ſo many nations of the eaſtern and ſouthern World, as no other language ever equalled. Next to the greek, perhaps, it is moſt worthy too of this general ſway: at leaſt the *lingua franca* of thoſe countries appears on compariſon with it but as a wretched beggar's cloak.

3. In this elegant and copious language *ſciences* were cultivated, which, when rouſed by Al-Manſur, Haroun Al-Raſchid, and Mamoun, ſpread from Bagdad, the ſeat of the Abaſſides, north-eaſt, and ſtill more weſtward, and flouriſhed for a conſiderable period throughout the extenſive arabian empire. A chain of cities, Balſora, Cufa, Samarcand, Roſetta, Cairo, Tunis, Fez, Morocco, Cordova, &c., were celebrated ſchools, whence ſcience was imparted to Perſia, India, ſome tatarian countries, nay China itſelf; and even down to the malays formed the means, whereby Aſia and Africa acquired ſome new improvement in civilization. Poetry and philoſophy, hiſtory and geography, philology, mathematics, chymiſtry, and phyſic, were cultivated by the arabs; in moſt of which the ſpirit of nations has felt their influence as inventors or diſſeminators, thus conferring benefits on thoſe they conquered.

Poetry was their ancient inheritance: the offspring of freedom, not of a khalif's favour. It flouriſhed long before Mohammed; for the ſpirit of the nation was poetical, and a thouſand circumſtances ſerved

to excite this ſpirit. Their country, their way of life, their pilgrimages to Mecca, the poetical conteſts at Okhad, the honour in which a riſing poet was held by his tribe; the pride the people felt in their language and legends; their propenſity to adventure, love, and glory; and even their love of ſolitude, thirſt of vengeance, and wandering life, were all incentives to poetry, and their muſe diſtinguiſhed herſelf by ſplendid imagery, pride and grandeur of ſentiment, acute apophthegms, and ſomething extravagant in the praiſe or cenſure of the ſubjects of her ſong. Her ideas ſtand like detached rocks piercing the clouds: the fire of the arab's words appals like the lightning of his ſcimitar; his wit is ſharp as the arrow from his bow. His noble ſteed is his Pegaſus: often uncomely, but intelligent, faithful, and indefatigable. The poetry of the perſian, on the other hand, which, like his language, deſcended from the arabic, has moulded itſelf to the character of the nation and country; more voluptuous, ſoft, and gay, a daughter of the terreſtrial Paradiſe. And though neither was acquainted with the forms of grecian art, the epopee, the ode, the paſtoral, ſtill leſs the drama; though both, when they had acquired the knowledge of them, rejected them as models; the peculiar poetic talent of the arab and perſian appeared the more diſtinctly formed and beautified on this very account. No nation can boaſt of ſo many paſſionate votaries of poetry as the arabs, during their golden age: in Aſia this paſſion ſpread even to the tatarian princes and nobles;

nobles; in Spain, to the chriſtian. The *gaya ciencia* of the limoſin or provençal poets was in a manner forced upon them, or inſpired by their arabian foes: and thus Europe by degrees acquired, though rudely and ſlowly, an ear for more refined and animated poetry.

The fabulous part of poetry, the *romance*, flouriſhed more particularly under an orient ſky. An old national ſtory, orally tranſmitted, becomes in time a romance: and when the imagination of the people, by whom theſe ſtories are told, has a fixed propenſity to the extravagant, incomprehenſible, grand, and wonderful, the common is exalted into the rare, the unknown into the extraordinary; to which the oriental eagerly lends an ear, for the inſtruction or amuſement of his leiſure hours, in his tent, on his journies, or in the ſocial circle. Even in the time of Mohammed there came among the arabs a perſian merchant with amuſing tales, which filled him with apprehenſions, that they would obſcure the fables of his Koran: and indeed the moſt pleaſing fictions of eaſtern genius appear to be of perſian origin. The gay talkativeneſs of the perſians, and their love of ſplendour, gave their ancient tales in time a romantic form, which was conſiderably heightened by creatures of the imagination, chiefly formed from the animals of the neighbouring mountains. Hence aroſe that Fairyland, the country of the peries and neries, for which the arabs had ſcarcely a name, and which was copiouſly introduced into the european romances of the middle ages. Theſe tales were arranged by the arabs at a

much later period, when the brilliant reign of the khalif Haroun Al-Raſchid was made the ſcene of their adventures; and this form afforded Europe a new model, for concealing delicate truths under the fabulous garb of incredible events, and uttering the moſt refined maxims of policy under the pretext of diverting idle hours.

From the romance of the arabs let us turn to it's ſiſter, their *philoſophy*; which, according to the oriental mode, was properly erected upon the Koran, and acquired a ſcientific form only from the tranſlation of Ariſtotle. As the ſimple idea of one God was the baſis of the whole religion of Mohammed, ſo we can ſcarcely conceive an hypotheſis, which the arabs would not connect with this idea, or deduce from it, while they carried it into their metaphyſical ſpeculations, and made it the ſubject of their lofty encomiums, ſentences, and maxims. They almoſt exhauſted the ſyntheſis of metaphyſical fiction, and united it with an exalted myſticiſm of morality. Sects aroſe among them, which, in their diſputes, already exerciſed a refined criticiſm of abſtract reaſon*; and indeed ſcarcely left the ſchoolmen of the middle ages any thing more to do, than to adapt their notions to the doctrines of european chriſtians. The jews were the firſt ſcholars of this metaphyſical theology: afterwards, it came to the newly erected chriſtian univerſities, where Ariſtotle appeared firſt wholly in the arabian mode, not in the grecian, and greatly poliſhed and whetted the

* '*Eine kritik der reinen vernunft.*' *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* is the title of Kant's celebrated work. T.

ſpecula-

ſpeculations, polemics, and language of the ſchools. Thus the illiterate Mohammed ſhares with the moſt learned of the grecian philoſophers the honour of having given the whole metaphyſical ſcience of modern times it's direction; and as moſt of the arabian philoſophers were poets alſo, ſo among the chriſtians in the middle ages myſticiſm was conſtantly united with ſcholaſtic lore, in ſuch a manner, that their boundaries were undiſtinguiſhable.

Philology was cultivated by the arabs as the honour of their race; ſo that, from pride in the beauty and purity of their language, they reckoned up all it's words, and their inflexions, and in very early times the man of learning might load threeſcore camels with dictionaries. In this ſcience, likewiſe, the firſt ſcholars of the arabs were the jews. They endeavoured to fabricate for their much ſimpler language an artificial grammar after the arabian faſhion, which remained in uſe even among the chriſtians to the moſt recent times; on the other hand, in our days men have taken from this very arabic language a living guide, to lead them back to the natural meaning of hebrew poetry; to conſider as figurative what is figurative, and to ſweep away a thouſand idols of fallacious hebrew exegeſis from the face of the Earth.

In the delivery of *hiſtory* the arabs have not been ſo happy as the greeks and romans; for they were deſtitute of republics, and conſequently ſtrangers to the practice of philoſophically diſcuſſing public acts and events. They could write nothing but brief and dry chronicles; or, if they attempted biogra-

phy, ran the hazard of falling into poetical panegyric of their hero, and unjuſt cenſure of his enemies. The impartial hiſtorical ſtyle never formed itſelf among them; their hiſtories are poems, or interwoven with poetry: but their chronicles, and geographical accounts of countries, with which they had opportunities of being acquainted, and which ſtill remain unknown to us, ſuch as the interiour of Africa, are of much utility *.

The moſt decided merit of the arabs, however, appears in mathematics, chymiſtry, and phyſic; in which ſciences, augmented by themſelves, they were the teachers of all Europe. So early as the reign of Al-Mamoun, a degree of the meridian was meaſured on the plain of Sanjar, near Bagdad. In aſtronomy, though compelled to ſubſerve the purpoſes of ſuperſtition, celeſtial atlaſſes, aſtronomical tables, and various inſtruments, were executed and improved with much art by the arabs; in which they were greatly aſſiſted by the fine climate, and clear ſky of their extenſive dominions. Aſtronomy was applied alſo to the ſervice of geography: they made maps, and compoſed ſtatiſtical ſketches of many countries, long before ſuch things were thought of by europeans. By it likewiſe they fixed

* Moſt of theſe, however, remain unexplored or neglected by us. There are lettered germans, who poſſeſs both knowledge and induſtry, but want ſupport, to publiſh them as they ought to be: in other countries, the learned ſleep over wealthy inſtitutions and legacies appointed for this purpoſe. Our Reiſke has fallen a martyr to his arabic-grecian zeal: peace be to his aſhes! but long will be the time, ere we ſhall ſee again ſuch learning, as was neglected in him.

the

the dates of chronology: they employed their knowledge of the courſes of the ſtars in navigation, many technical terms of which are of arabic derivation; and in general the name of this people is inſcribed among the ſtars with more permanent characters, than it could have imprinted any where upon the Earth. The books produced by the induſtry of it's mathematicians, aſtronomers particularly, are innumerable: moſt of them now lie unknown, or unuſed; and multitudes have been deſtroyed by war, by the flames, by inattention, or by ignorance. Through it's means the nobleſt ſciences of the human intellect penetrated into Tatary, the mungal countries, and even the ſecluded China: in Samarcand aſtronomical tables were conſtructed, and epochs aſcertained, to which we ſtill refer. The characters employed in our arithmetic we received from the arabs: and algebra derives from them it's name. So does chymiſtry, of which they are the fathers: a ſcience that has put into the hands of man a new key to the ſecrets of Nature, not only for the purpoſes of phyſic, but of every department of natural philoſophy. As from attachment to this ſcience they paid leſs attention to botany, and the purſuit of anatomy was prohibited by their law; they were more ſedulous in the application of chymiſtry to the materia medica, and in the diſcrimination of diſeaſes and temperaments by an almoſt ſuperſtitious obſervation of their external ſigns and ſymptoms. What Ariſtotle was to them in philoſophy, what Euclid and Ptolemy were in mathematics, ſuch were Galen and Dioſcorides in the art

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of phyſic: though it cannot be denied, that, in following the greeks, the arabs were not merely the keepers, propagaters, and amplifiers, of the ſciences moſt indiſpenſable to man, but occaſionally the falſifiers of them. The oriental taſte, in which they cultivated the ſciences, long adhered to them in Europe, and could not eaſily be removed. In ſome of the arts, too, much of what we call the gothic ſtyle is properly the arabian: as in architecture, which theſe rude conquerors formed after their own manner from the edifices they found in the grecian provinces, and brought with them into Spain, whence it ſpread farther into Europe.

4. Laſtly, we ſhould ſpeak of the dazzling and romantic *ſpirit of chivalry*, which they unqueſtionably mingled with the european ardour for adventure; but this will ſoon appear of itſelf.

CHAPTER VI.

General Reflections.

If we caſt a retroſpective view on the form our quarter of the Globe has acquired through the migrations and converſion of nations, through wars and the hierarchy, we ſhall diſcern a powerful but helpleſs body, a giant wanting nothing but eyes. This weſtern end of the ancient World was ſufficiently populous: the territories of the romans, enfeebled by luxury, were abundantly peopled by men

men of ſtrong bodies and ſolid courage*. For in the early days of their recent poſſeſſion of theſe countries, before the diſtinction of ranks had acquired the oppreſſive hereditary form, the conquered dominions of the romans were a real Paradiſe to the rude enjoyments of theſe uncultivated people, in the midſt of other nations, who had long planted and built for their own convenience. They regarded not the ravages their expeditions occaſioned, which kept back the human race more than ten centuries: for we feel not the loſs of unknown good; and for the animal man this weſtern part of the northern World, with the ſlighteſt remnants of it's cultivation, was in every reſpect preferable to his ancient Sarmatia, Scythia, or remoter eaſtern Hunland. By the devaſtations, that took place after the chriſtian era; in the wars, that theſe people carried on among themſelves; in the new peſts and diſeaſes, that ravaged Europe; it muſt be confeſſed the human ſpecies ſuffered; but by nothing ſo much, as by the deſpotic feudal ſyſtem. Europe was full of men, but of men in a ſtate of bodily ſervitude: and the ſlavery, under which theſe groaned, was ſo much the more ſevere, as it was a chriſtian ſlavery, reduced into rule by political laws and blind cuſtom, confirmed by writings, and at-

* The bodily ſtrength of our forefathers is atteſted by their graves and armour, as well as by hiſtory: and without it the ancient and middle hiſtory of Europe is ſcarcely reconcileable to the underſtanding. The valiant and noble maſs poſſeſſed but few ideas; and theſe few were ſet in motion ſlowly, yet forcibly.

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tached to the ſoil. The very air conferred property: he who was not emancipated by contract, or a deſpot by birth, entered into the pretended natural ſtate of ſubjection, or vaſſalage.

From Rome no ſuccour was to be expected. It's ſervants ſhared with others the ſovereignty of Europe; and Rome itſelf was ſupported by a multitude of ſpiritual ſlaves. Whomever kings and emperors made free, were to be forced from giants and dragons, as in the books of romance, by letters of enfranchiſement: accordingly this way was tedious and difficult. The knowledge the chriſtianity of the weſt poſſeſſed was expended, and turned to profit. It's popular form was become a wretched verbal liturgy: it's vile patrician rhetoric had been converted, in monaſteries, churches, and communities, into a magic deſpotiſm over the mind, which the vulgar adored under whips and ſcourges, nay licking the duſt in penitence. The arts and ſciences were no more: for what muſe will dwell amid the bones of martyrs, the din of bells and organs, the ſmoke of incenſe, and prayers for deliverance from Purgatory? The hierarchy had launched it's thunderbolts againſt all freedom of thought, and crippled with it's yoke every noble ſpring of action. Reward in another World was preached up to the ſuffering: the oppreſſor was ſecure of abſolution in the hour of death, for a legacy: God's kingdom upon Earth was let to farm.

In Europe there was no ſalvation without the pale of the romiſh church. For, not to mention the

the oppreſſed nations miſerably pent up in the corners of the Earth, nothing was to be expected from the grecian empire; ſtill leſs from the only kingdom, which had begun to form itſelf in the eaſt of Europe, out of the juriſdiction of the roman emperor and pope *. Thus nothing remained for the weſtern part, but itſelf; or the only ſouthern nation, in which a new ſhoot of mental cultivation bloomed, the mohammedans. With theſe Europe ſoon came into conflict, in it's moſt ſenſible parts; and this conflict was of long duration: in Spain it continued till the time when knowledge was diffuſed over all Europe. What was the prize of the conteſt? and who were the victors? Unqueſtionably the newly excited activity of mankind was the moſt valuable prize of the victory.

* This is Ruſſia. From the time of it's foundation it took a peculiar courſe, different from that of the other kingdoms of Europe. With theſe it entered not the liſts till late.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XX.

IF the croiſades, carried on by Europe in the eaſt, may juſtly be conſidered as the epoch of a great revolution in our quarter of the Globe, yet we muſt take care not to eſteem them it's firſt and only cauſe. They were nothing more than a mad enterpriſe, which coſt Europe ſome millions of men; and reconveyed to it in the ſurvivors, for the moſt part, a looſe, daring, debauched, and ignorant rabble. The good which was effected in their time aroſe chiefly from collateral cauſes, which obtained freer play at this period, and produced advantages, in many reſpects attended with conſiderable danger. Indeed, no occurrence in human affairs ſtands alone: ariſing from anteriour cauſes, the ſpirit of the times, and the diſpoſition of nations, it is to be conſidered only as the dial, the hand of which is moved by internal ſprings. Let us proceed, therefore, to examine the movements of Europe in the whole, and obſerve how every wheel in them cooperated to one common end.

CHAPTER I.

The Spirit of Commerce in Europe.

THIS ſmall portion of the Earth was not in vain ſurrounded by Nature with ſo many coaſts and bays, and interſected by ſo many navigable rivers and lakes: the nations, that dwelt on them, were active from the remoteſt times. What the Mediterranean had been to the ſouth of Europe, the Baltic was to the north; an early incentive to the purſuit of navigation, and a mean of intercourſe between different countries. Beſide the gael and cimbri, we have ſeen the friſons, the ſaxons, and more eſpecially the normans, traverſing all the ſeas of the weſt and the north, nay even the Mediterranean, and effecting much good, and much evil. From the ſimple excavated trunk of a tree they roſe to ſhips of burden, to a capacity of keeping the open ſea, and availing themſelves of every wind; ſo that even now the points of the compaſs, and many nautical terms, in all the languages of Europe, are of german derivation. Amber in particular was the coſtly bauble, that attracted greeks, romans, and arabians, and brought the north and the ſouth acquainted with each other. It was conveyed by ſhips of Maſſilia (Marſeilles) over the ocean; by land, through Carnuntum (Preſburg) to the Adriatic; and on the Dnieper, to the Black Sea; in quantities ſcarcely credible.

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The way of the Black Sea was preeminently the path of intercourſe between the nations of the North, South, and Eaſt *. At the mouths of the Don and the Dnieper were two great commercial towns, Azoph (Tanais, Aſgard), and Olbia (Boryſthenes, Alfheim); the repoſitories of the wares of Tatary, India, China, Byzantium, and Egypt, which were diſperſed over the north of Europe, chiefly by way of barter: and even when the readier way through the Mediterranean was frequented, down to the times of the croiſades and beyond them, this north-eaſtern commerce was purſued. After the ſlavians became poſſeſſed of a great part of the baltic ſhores, they eſtabliſhed a range of flouriſhing commercial towns along them. The germanic nations on the iſlands and oppoſite coaſts were their eager rivals; and deſiſted not, till, for the ſake of gain and of chriſtianity, the commerce of the ſlavians was deſtroyed. They then endeavoured to occupy their place; and long before the proper hanſeatic league, a kind of maritime republic, *a league of mercantile towns*, was gradually eſtabliſhed, which afterwards roſe to the grand hanſe. As in the days of plunder there had been maritime kings in the north; ſo now a much more extenſive commercial ſtate was formed of various members, on the genuine principles of mutual aid and ſecurity; a prototype, probably, of the future ſtate of all the mercantile nations of Europe.

* Much on this ſubject is collected in the firſt volume of Fiſcher's *Geſchichte des teutſchen Handels*, 'Hiſtory of german Commerce.'

Induſtry,

Induſtry, and uſeful manufactures, flouriſhed on more than one of the northern ſhores; firſt of all particularly in Flanders, which was peopled with german coloniſts.

The internal conſtitution of this part of the World, however, was aſſuredly not the beſt adapted to the riſing induſtry of it's inhabitants: for, on almoſt every coaſt, the moſt promiſing eſtabliſhments were frequently ruined by pirates; and, by land, the love of war, that ſtill raged among the nations, and the feudal ſyſtem, which ſprung from it, threw in it's way a thouſand obſtacles. In the earlieſt times, after the barbarians had diſperſed themſelves over Europe, when greater equality prevailed among the members of the nation, and the ancient inhabitants experienced gentler treatment, the general ſpirit of induſtry required nothing but encouragement: and this would not have been wanting, had more Theodorics, Charlemagnes, and Alfreds, appeared. But when every thing fell under the yoke of bondage, and an hereditary order arrogated to itſelf the labour and induſtry of it's vaſſals, for the ſupport of it's luxury and ſplendour; when no man, poſſeſſed of talents for any art, could dare to purſue it, till he had redeemed himſelf out of the clutches of this demon by tribute, or by patent; every thing was unqueſtionably manacled with heavy chains. Intelligent ſovereigns did what they could: they founded cities, and endowed them with privileges: they took artiſts and mechanics under their protection; invited merchants, and even hebrew uſurers, into their dominions, exempting the former from tribute, and often conferring on the latter per-

nicious commercial liberties, becauſe they ſtood in need of jewiſh gold: but all theſe could not eſtabliſh a freer employment or circulation of human induſtry on the continent of Europe, under the circumſtances we have mentioned. Every thing was confined, mutilated, oppreſſed; nothing therefore could be more natural, than that the addreſs of the ſouth, aided by convenience of ſituation, ſhould for a time prevail over the aſſiduity of the north. Yet it was only for a time: for all that Venice, Genoa, Piſa, Amalfi, have done, is confined within the limits of the Mediterranean; the ocean belongs to the navigators of the north; and, with the ocean, the World.

Venice aroſe amidſt it's marſhes like Rome. Firſt the aſylum of thoſe, who ſaved themſelves from the incurſions of the barbarians on wretched, inacceſſible iſlands, and ſupported themſelves as well as they could: afterwards joining with the ancient haven of Padua, it united it's villages and iſlands, acquired a form of government, and roſe from a paltry trade in fiſh and ſalt, with which it began, to be in a few centuries the firſt commercial city of Europe, the repoſitory of merchandize for all the ſurrounding countries, and the miſtreſs of ſeveral kingdoms; even in the preſent day it boaſts the honour of being the moſt ancient republic exiſting, and a republic never conquered *. It's hiſtory confirms, what that of many commercial cities has proved, that men may riſe from nothing to every thing, and ſave themſelves

* This was true when the original was publiſhed. T.

ſelves from the very jaws of deſtruction, if they unite indefatigable induſtry with prudence. It ventured not out of it's marſhes till late, when, like a timid inhabitant of the mud, it ſought a little diſtrict on the ſtrand. It then advanced a few ſteps farther, and, to obtain the favour of the wealthy grecian empire, aſſiſted it's feeble exarchs of Ravenna. In return for this, it obtained what it deſired; the moſt important privileges in this empire, then in poſſeſſion of the principal trade of the World. When the arabs had extended their dominions; and with the ſovereignty of Syria, Egypt, and almoſt all the ſhores of the Mediterranean, had likewiſe uſurped their commerce; the venetians boldly and ſucceſsfully withſtood their attacks on the Adriatic. As ſoon as a proper opportunity offered, however, they entered into a treaty with them, and thus became the venders of all the wealth of the eaſt, to their immenſe profit. Thus ſpices, ſilk, and all the commodities of oriental luxury, were ſo abundantly diffuſed over Europe, that almoſt the whole of Lombardy was converted into a repoſitory of them, and the venetians and lombards were, together with the jews, the general brokers of the weſtern world. The more uſeful trade of the northern nations ſuffered from this for a certain period: and now the wealthy Venice, preſſed upon by the hungarians and avari, eſtabliſhed a firm footing on the main land. Embroiling themſelves neither with the greek emperors, nor with the arabs, they drew advantages from Conſtantinople, Aleppo, and Alexandria; and oppoſed the commercial eſtabliſhments of the nor-

mans with timorous jealouſy, till they had encloſed theſe alſo in their graſp.

The commodities ſubſervient to the calls of luxury, which they and their rivals imported from the eaſt; and the wealth they acquired thereby; with the reports the pilgrims gave of the magnificence of the oriental nations; inflamed the minds of the europeans with greater deſire for the poſſeſſions of the mohammedans, than did the ſepulchre of Chriſt: and when the croiſades broke out, there were none who derived from them ſo much advantage, as theſe commercial cities of Italy. They tranſported over ſeveral armies, carried them proviſion, and hence acquired not only immenſe ſums of money, but new privileges, factories, and poſſeſſions, in the newly conquered lands. Venice was particularly fortunate above all the reſt: for as it ſucceeded in taking Conſtantinople with an army of croiſaders, and eſtabliſhing in it a latin empire, it ſhared the plunder with it's allies ſo advantageouſly, that they had but little, and that little inſecure, and but for a ſhort period, while it obtained every thing conducive to it's trade, the coaſts and iſlands of Greece. Theſe poſſeſſions it retained for a long time, and conſiderably augmented: and all the dangers that threatened them, from rivals or enemies, it contrived to ſurmount by ſucceſs, or ward off by circumſpection; till a new order of things, the voyages of the portugueſe round the Cape of Good Hope, and the irruption of the turks into Europe, reſtricted it to it's own Adriatic. A great part of the booty of the grecian empire, the croiſades, and the

the commerce of the eaſt, concentred in it's marſhes: it's fruits, both good and bad, were diſſeminated over Italy, France, and Germany, particularly it's ſouthern part. They were the hollanders of their time; and, beſide their commercial induſtry, beſide various arts and manufactures, they have eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the book of human nature by the durability of their form of government *.

Genoa acquired a great trade earlier than Venice, and poſſeſſed for a long time the ſovereignty of the Mediterranean. It ſhared the grecian commerce, and afterward the arabian: and as it was of importance to it, to preſerve the ſecurity of the Mediterranean, it not only made itſelf maſter of Corſica, but alſo, with the aſſiſtance of ſome chriſtian princes of Spain, of ſeveral places in Africa, and dictated peace to the pirates. During the croiſades it was very active: the genoeſe ſupported the armies with their fleets; and aſſiſted, in the firſt expedition, at the conqueſts of Antioch, Tripoli, Cæſarea, and Jeruſalem; ſo that, beſide an honorary inſcription over the altar in the chapel of the

* In Le Bret's *Geſchichte von Venedig*, 'Hiſtory of Venice †,' we have ſuch an abſtract of every thing moſt memorable, that has been written reſpecting the hiſtory of this city, as no other language can exhibit. What this maritime city has done in the hiſtory of Europe for the church, letters, and in other points, will hereafter appear.

† I doubt whether this be a diſtinct work, as I know no one under this title. Probably Herder refers to the account of Venice in Le Bret's *Geſchichte von Italien*, 'Hiſtory of Italy, and all the ancient and modern States founded therein,' a work in nine volumes 8vo, 1787.

holy ſepulchre, they were rewarded with diſtinguiſhed privileges in Syria and Paleſtine. In the trade of Egypt they rivalled the venetians: but in the Black Sea they bore ſupereminent ſway, where they poſſeſſed the great commercial city of Kaffa, the repoſitory of all the commodities, that took their courſe from the eaſt over land; and they enjoyed magazines and liberty of trade in Armenia, nay far within Tatary. They long defended Kaffa, and the iſlands they held in the Ægean Sea, till the turks had conquered Conſtantinople, and excluded them firſt from the Black Sea, afterwards from the Archipelago. With Venice they carried on long and bloody wars, and more than once brought this republic to the brink of deſtruction: Piſa, indeed,
1288. they raſed to the ground; but at length the
venetians ſucceeded in checking the power
1381. of the genoeſe at Chiozza, and completing the fall of their greatneſs.

Amalfi, *Piſa*, and ſome other cities of Italy, had part with Genoa and Venice in the arabian trade of
1010. the eaſt. Florence rendered itſelf inde-
pendent, and joined to it Fieſole: Amalfi
1020. obtained the privilege of a free trade throughout the ſtates of the egyptian khalifs: Amalfi, Piſa, and Genoa, however, were the principal maritime powers in the Mediterranean. The coaſts of France and Spain, likewiſe, ſought to participate in the trade of the Levant; and the pilgrims of both countries repaired thither as much for the ſake of gain, as of devotion. Such was the ſituation of the ſouth of Europe, with reſpect to the

the poſſeſſions of the arabs; which to the ſhores of Italy, in particular, expanded like a garden of ſpices, as a Fairyland of wealth. The italians, that accompanied the croiſades, ſought not the body of the Lord, but the ſpices and treaſures in his grave. The bank of Tyre was their Holy Land; and what they any where undertook was in their uſual way of trade, which they had trodden for centuries.

Tranſient as was the proſperity theſe foreign riches brought to thoſe, by whom they were acquired, ſtill in all probability they were indiſpenſable to the firſt blooming of italian cultivation. By them men were taught a leſs rude and more commodious manner of living; and, inſtead of their coarſe oſtentation, to diſtinguiſh themſelves by more refined magnificence. The many great cities of Italy, which were held only by feeble ties to their weak and abſent ſovereigns on the other ſide of the Alps, while they all panted after independence, acquired more than one ſuperiority over the uncivilized marauder of the caſtle: for they either drew him within their walls, by the attractions of luxury, and the increaſed enjoyments of ſocial life, and converted him into a peaceable citizen; or by their increaſe of population they acquired ſufficient ſtrength, to deſtroy his fortreſs, and compel him to live as a quiet neighbour. Riſing luxury awakened induſtrioufneſs, not only to the purſuit of arts and manufactures, but even of agriculture: the fields of Lombardy, Florence, Bologna, and Ferrara, with the coaſts of Naples and Sicily, flouriſhed under the hand of the huſbandman, in the neighbourhood of

great and induſtrious cities. Lombardy was a garden, when great part of Europe was covered with woods and downs. For as theſe populous cities muſt derive their ſupport from the land; and the proprietor of the ſoil could gain more by the proviſion, with which he furniſhed them, in conſequence of the increaſed price given for the neceſſaries of life; he could not avoid exerting himſelf in purſuit of this gain, if he were deſirous of participating in the luxury recently introduced. Thus one ſpecies of activity rouſed another, and kept it in play: and, with this new courſe of things, order, the free enjoyment of private property, and ſubmiſſion to the laws, neceſſarily prevailed. Men were obliged to learn frugality, that they might have money to ſpend; human invention was ſharpened, while one endeavoured to carry the prize from another: every houſeholder, formerly an unconnected individual, now became in ſome degree himſelf a merchant. Thus it aroſe from the nature of things, that fertile Italy, watered by the wealth of the arabs, ſhould firſt put forth the bloſſoms of a new cultivation.

Theſe bloſſoms, however, were far from perennial. Trade diffuſed itſelf, and took a different courſe; the republics decayed: voluptuous cities became inſolent, and at variance within themſelves: the whole country was filled with parties, among which enterprizing men, and a few powerful families, raiſed themſelves to great authority. War and oppreſſion ſucceeded: and as luxury and the arts had

had baniſhed not only the military ſpirit, but alſo faith and probity, one city, one ſtate, after another, fell a prey to foreign or domeſtic tyrants. The ſtricteſt laws of moderation alone were capable of preſerving from ruin the diſtributor of this pleaſing poiſon, Venice itſelf. Yet let no ſpring of human action be denied it's rightful claims. Happily for Europe, this luxury was at that time far from general, and the greater part of it promoted the gains of the lombards alone: a ſpring ſtill more powerful acted in oppoſition to it, the ſpirit of chivalry, deſpiſing ſelfintereſt, and daring every thing for the ſake of glory. Let us examine from what ſeeds this flower aroſe; whence it derived it's nutriment; and what virtues it poſſeſſed, to check the ſpirit of commerce.

CHAPTER II.

Spirit of Chivalry in Europe.

ALL the germanic tribes, that ſpread themſelves over Europe, conſiſted of warriours: and as the moſt arduous part of military ſervice fell upon the cavalry, it was natural, that theſe ſhould amply recompenſe themſelves for their ſkill in equeſtrian accompliſhments. Accordingly, a fraternity of horſemen ſoon aroſe, who learned their art in due form: and as theſe were the attendants of the commander, duke, or king, a ſort of military ſchool

was

was eſtabliſhed where the court reſided, in which the bachelor knights ſerved their apprenticeſhip. When this was accompliſhed, it is probable, that they were ſent in queſt of adventures, as the means of rendering them perfect in their trade; and, having well approved themſelves on this trial, continued to ſerve as maſters of their craft, to the privileges of which they were admitted, or as teachers to inſtruct others in thoſe arts, which themſelves had learned. It is ſcarcely poſſible, that the order of chivalry ſhould have had any other origin. The germanic nations, who carried the corporation ſpirit into every thing, muſt have applied it particularly to an art familiar to themſelves alone: and as this was their grand and ſole art, they naturally conferred upon it all the honour, which they were too ignorant to beſtow on any other. All the laws and regulations of chivalry may be deduced from this origin *.

This company of horſemen being trained for the ſervice of the prince, the firſt duty incumbent both on the bachelor and the knight was, to ſwear fealty to him. Horſemanſhip and the uſe of weapons were the exerciſes of their ſchool; whence tilts and tournaments, with other knightly ſports as they were

* See Mœſer's *Oſnabrueckiſche Geſchichte*, 'Hiſtory of Oſnabruck,' Vol. I. For what follows, inſtead of the numbers who have written on chivalry, I ſhall cite only Carne de St. Palaye, whoſe work is tranſlated into german by D. Klueber. The chief part of the original relates to the french knights alone; the general hiſtory of chivalry in Europe has never yet been written to my knowledge.

called,

called, afterwards aroſe. At court the young cavalier was to be about the perſon of the prince and his conſort, to be ready for courtly ſervices: hence the duty of courteſy toward princes and ladies, which he learned as a trade. And as, beſide his horſe and his arms, a little religion and favour with the ladies were neceſſary for him, he acquired the former from a ſhort breviary, and obtained the latter as he could, according to his abilities and the faſhion of the times. Thus originated chivalry, conſiſting of a blind faith in religion, a blind ſubmiſſion to the will of the prince, provided he required nothing inconſiſtent with the principles of the confraternity, courteouſneſs in ſervice, and gallantry toward the ladies: if a knight poſſeſſed theſe virtues, no matter whether his head contained a ſingle idea, his heart a ſingle ſentiment, beſides. The lower claſſes were not his equals: the knowledge of the mechanic, the artiſt, or the man of learning, he, as a ſoldier and accompliſhed knight, could deſpiſe.

It is obvious, that this military trade muſt degenerate into unbridled barbariſm, as ſoon as it became an hereditary right, and the genuine, thorough knight was a noble in his very cradle. Sagacious princes, who ſupported ſuch an idle train about their courts, paid conſiderable attention to the improvement of this calling, by inſtilling into the minds of the noble maſters ſome few ideas, and giving them morals, for the ſecurity of their own court, family, and country. Hence the ſevere laws by which every act of baſeneſs was ſubjected to penalties

nalties among them: hence the noble duties of ſuccouring the oppreſſed, protecting virgin innocence, treating enemies with magnanimity, and the like: the deſign of which was to obviate their burſts of violence, to temper the rudeneſs and barbarity of their manners. Theſe laws of the order were not to be obliterated from the virtuous mind, on which they had been impreſſed from the earlieſt infancy; ſo that the probity and faith almoſt mechanically diſplayed in word and deed by every worthy knight aſtoniſh us. Pliability of character, facility of placing a queſtion in every point of view, and fertility of ideas, were not their failings: hence the language of the middle ages was ſo ceremonious, ſtiff, and formal, that it ſeems to move as it were capariſoned in ſteel, round two or three thoughts, in all the pomp of knighthood.

Cauſes from two extremities of the Earth concurred, to give this body of chivalry more life and motion: Spain, France, England, and Italy, but principally France, were the places where it received it's chief refinements.

1. The national character and country of the *arabs* rendered a kind of knight-errantry, mixed with the tenderneſs of love, ſomewhat like hereditary property to them, from the earlieſt times. They went in queſt of adventures; fought ſingle combats; and waſhed out the ſtain of every diſgrace, thrown on themſelves, or their tribe, with the blood of their enemy. Accuſtomed to hard fare and ſlight clothing, their horſe, their ſword, and

and the honour of their race, were dear to them above all things. And as while roaming with their tents they ſought love-adventures, and then breathed out complaints of the abſence of the object of their paſſion in their much valued poetical language; their ſongs very ſoon fell into the regular train of chaunting their prophet, themſelves, the honours of their race, and the praiſes of their miſtreſs; without much attention to the aptneſs of tranſition. On their expeditions of conqueſt the tents of the women were intermingled with theirs: the moſt courageous animated them in battle, and in return the ſpoils of the victory were laid at their feet. And as from the time of Mohammed the influence of the women in the formation of the arabian empire had been great; and the orientals had no enjoyments in a period of peace, except games of paſtime, or amuſing themſelves among the women; the feſtivities of chivalry, as throwing the javelin at the ring, and other conteſts, within liſts, in the preſence of the ladies, were celebrated with great ſplendour and magnificence in Spain, during the government of the arabs. The fair dames encouraged the champions, and rewarded them with jewels, ſcarves, or garments worked with their own hands: for theſe feſtivals were held in honour of them, and the portrait of the conqueror's miſtreſs was hung up to view, ſurrounded by the portraits of the knights he had overcome. The competitors were divided into bands, diſtinguiſhed by their colours, devices, and garments; poems were ſung in honour of the feaſt; and the thanks of love were the victor's

nobleſt reward. Thus the more refined cuſtoms of chivalry were evidently brought into Europe by the arabs: what with the heavy-armed heroes of the north remained only profeſſional manners, or mere fiction, were with theſe nature, light play, ſportive exerciſe *.

Thus this gayer ſpirit of chivalry was firſt introduced among the chriſtians in Spain, where the arabs and goths lived together for centuries. Here we not only diſcover the moſt ancient chriſtian orders, eſtabliſhed either for the purpoſe of oppoſing the moors, for protecting pilgrims on their journeys to Compoſtella, or for pleaſure and amuſement; but the ſpirit of chivalry was ſo deeply imprinted in the character of the Spaniards, that even knights errant, and chevaliers of love, perfectly in the arabian ſtyle, were not with them mere creatures of the imagination. The romaunt, or hiſtorical poem, particularly as dedicated to the adventurers of love and chivalry; and probably the romance, as the old Amadis, and others; were the offspring of their language and way of thinking, in which Cervantes found in latter days the materials for that incomparable national romance, Don Quixote de la Mancha.

But their influence was more eminently diſplayed in the *lighter poetry*, both here and in Sicily, the two countries of which the arabs longeſt maintained

* See Reiſke on Thograi, Pocock on Abulfaragius, Sale, Jones, Ockley, Cardonne, &c.

poſſeſſion.

poſſeſſion *. For in the land, extending to the Ebro, which Charlemagne conquered from the arabs, and peopled with limoſins, or the inhabitants of the ſouth of France, the firſt poetry among the vernacular languages of Europe, the *provençal*, or *limoſin*, gradually formed itſelf, on either ſide the Pyrenees, in the neighbourhood of the arabs. Tenzonets, ſonnets, idyls, villaneſcas, ſirventes, madrigals, canzonets, and other forms, invented for witty queſtions, dialogues, and envelopes of amorous ſubjects, gave occaſion, as every thing in Europe muſt aſſume the court or corporation form, to a ſingular tribunal, the court of love *(corte de amor)*, in which ladies and knights, princes and kings, were concerned as judges and parties. Before it was formed the *gaya ciencia*, the ſcience of the troubadours; firſt the purſuit of the higher nobility, but afterwards, being conſidered after the european mode as an amuſement of the court, it fell into the hands of the *contadores*, *truanes*, and *bufones*, the ſtory-tellers, jeſters, and court-buffoons, where it became contemptible.

In it's early flouriſhing days the poetry of the provençals had a ſoftly harmonious, pathetic, and engaging ſtyle, which poliſhed the heart and mind, refined the language and manners, and was the general parent of all modern european poetry. The limoſin language extended itſelf over Languedoc, Provence, Barcelona, Arragon, Valencia, Murcia,

* See Velaſquez on ſpaniſh poetry, and all who have written on the provençals, minneſingers, &c.

Majorca,

Majorca, and Minorca: in theſe charming countries, fanned by the ſea-breeze, love breathed it's firſt ſigh, love poured the firſt language of delight. The poetry of Spain, France, and Italy, were it's daughters: by it Petrarch was tutored, of it he was emulous: our minneſingers were it's remote and harſh echoes, though the ſofteſt of our language is unqueſtionably theirs. The univerſally diffuſed ſpirit of chivalry tranſplanted ſome of it's flowers from France and Italy into Swabia, Auſtria, and Thuringia: ſome emperors of the Staufiſh family, and Hermann landgrave of Thuringia, delighted in it, with more german princes, whoſe names would have ſunk into oblivion, had they not been tranſmitted to poſterity with ſome of their ſongs. The art, however, ſpeedily degenerated, ſinking into the deſpicable trade of vagrant *jongleurs* in France, of *meiſterſingers* in Germany. In languages ſprung like the provençal itſelf from the latin, and known by the name of romanſh, it could take deeper root; producing far more pleaſing fruits as it ſpread from Spain through France and Italy to the iſland of Sicily. In Sicily, as in Spain, aroſe the firſt italian poetry on what was once arabian ground.

2. What the arabs began from the ſouth, the *normans* cultivated ſtill more ſtrenuouſly from the north, in France, England, and Italy. When their romantic character, their love of adventures, heroic tales, and martial exerciſes, and their native reſpect to the women, united with the refined chivalry of the arabs, it gained a wider ſpread, and deeper root in Europe. The tales called romances, the ground-

work

work of which exiſted long before the croiſades, now came more into vogue: for all the german nations had ever celebrated the praiſes of their heroes; and theſe ſongs and poems had maintained their ground, even amid the darkeſt ages, in the courts of the great, nay in the convents themſelves; and in proportion as genuine hiſtory declined, men's minds were the more turned to ſpiritual legends, or romantic ſtories. Accordingly, from the firſt ages of chriſtianity we find this exerciſe of the human imagination more employed than any other, firſt after the african greek manner, latterly after the northern european: monks, biſhops, and ſaints, were not aſhamed of it; nay, from their mouths, true hiſtory, and the Bible itſelf, ſpoke the language of romance. Hence aroſe the ſuit of Belial againſt Chriſt: hence the allegorical and myſtical perſonification of all the virtues and duties: hence the ſpiritual dramatic moralities and interludes.

Such being the general taſte of the times, the offſpring of ignorance, ſuperſtition, and an awakened fancy, tales and fables *(contes et fabliaux)* were the only food of the human mind, and heroic tales were moſt admired by the equeſtrian order. In France, the centre of this cultivation, the ſubjects moſt peculiar to it were naturally choſen, according to the two ſtreams that united here. The expedition of Charlemagne againſt the ſaracens, with all the adventures ſaid to have happened in the Pyrenees, was one of theſe: what already exiſted in the country of the normans, in Britanny, in the ancient ſtories of king Arthur, was

the other. Into this were introduced, from the more recent french conſtitution, the twelve peers, with all the ſplendour of Charles and his knights, and all the ſavage deeds they had to tell of the ſaracen heroes. Ogier the dane, Huon of Bordeaux, the children of Aimon, and various ſtories of the pilgrims and croiſaders, entered likewiſe into this: but the moſt intereſting perſons and events were always borrowed from the country of the provençals, Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, and that part of Spain, where the limoſin poetry flouriſhed. The ſecond ſtream, the tales of Arthur and his court, came over the ſea from Cornwall, or rather from an utopian land, where men indulged in a peculiar ſpecies of the wonderful. The mirrour of knighthood was brightly poliſhed in theſe romances: the vices and virtues of this court were clearly exhibited in the various characters of the knights of the round table; for which there was ample room in the unbounded domains of the romance of Arthur, and in ſuch ancient times.

At length from theſe two branches of romance iſſued a third, which excluded no french or ſpaniſh province. Poitou, Champagne, Normandy, the foreſt of Ardennes, Flanders, nay Mentz, Caſtile, and Algarva, furniſhed knights and ſcenes to the drama: for the ignorance of the times, and the form in which the hiſtories of antiquity then appeared, permitted, or rather urged this jumble of all ages and countries. Troy and Greece, Jeruſalem and Trebiſond, what was known of old, and what report juſt bruited about, united in the gar-

land

land of chivalry: and above all the claim to a deſcent from trojan blood was a family honour, of which all the nations and empires of Europe, with it's greateſt knights and potentates, were firmly perſuaded. With the normans romance paſſed into England and Sicily: each country afforded it new heroes, and new materials; but no where did it flouriſh as in France. From the coaleſcence of various cauſes, this taſte formed the way of life, language, poetry, and even religion and morals of men *.

Then, if we paſs from the regions of fable into the land of hiſtory, is there a kingdom in Europe, where chivalry has bloſſomed with more elegance than in France? When, after the decline of the Carlovingian race, almoſt as many courts of little potentates, dukes, counts, or barons, ſhone forth in power and ſplendour, as there were provinces, caſtles, and fortreſſes; every palace, every knight's ſeat, was alſo a ſchool of chivalry and honour. The national vivacity of the people; the conteſts they had maintained for centuries againſt the arabs and normans; the fame their forefathers had thereby acquired; the flouriſhing ſtate, to which many families had raiſed themſelves; their intermixture with the normans themſelves; but, eſpecially, that peculiarity in the character of the nation, which diſplays itſelf throughout their whole hiſtory from the days of the gauls; introduced into chivalry that

* Of theſe directions and ingredients of the romance of the middle ages I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere.

felicity of expreſſion, that prompt elaſticity, eaſy complaiſance, and ſparkling grace, which, in any other nation except the french, is to be found but late, or ſeldom, if ever. How many french knights may be named, whoſe ſentiments and actions, in peace and war, throughout the whole hiſtory of France, even down to the times of royal deſpotiſm, diſplay ſo much valour, nobleneſs, and gallantry, that their families will be eternally honoured! When Fame ſounded the trump of the croiſades, the knights of France were the flower of european chivalry: french families wore the diadem of Jeruſalem and Conſtantinople; and the laws of the new ſtate were promulgated in french. The language and manners of France ſeated themſelves on the britiſh throne, likewiſe, with William the conqueror: and the two nations emulouſly rivalled each other in the virtues of chivalry, as the plains both of France and Paleſtine witneſſed, till England relinquiſhed to it's neighbour the prize of empty ſplendour, and choſe the more uſeful career of civil virtues. France firſt braved the power of the pope; and indeed in the eaſieſt way, with a degree of grace: even St. Lewis himſelf was far from a ſlave of the holy father. England, Germany, and other countries, have had more valiant kings than France: but policy firſt entered France from Italy, and there aſſumed at leaſt the garb of decorum, however diſgraceful her actions. This ſpirit imparted itſelf likewiſe to inſtitutions of learning, magiſterial dignities, and tribunals of juſtice, at firſt to their advantage, afterwards to their detriment.

No

No wonder, then, that the french nation is become the vaineſt in Europe: almoſt from the origin of it's monarchy it has held the lamp to this quarter of the Globe, and given it the tone in it's moſt important revolutions. When all nations flocked together to Paleſtine, as to a grand carouſal, the german knights were led by their connexion with the french, to lay aſide their teutonic turbulence *(furor teutonicus)*. The new dreſs, likewiſe, which coats of arms and other marks of diſtinction ſpread over all Europe in the time of the croiſades, was for the moſt part of french origin.

We ſhould now ſpeak of the three or four orders of ſpiritual knights, which, founded in Paleſtine, attained ſo much wealth, and ſo many honours; but the heroic and political drama, in which they acquired theſe, lies before us, with it's five, or rather ſeven acts; to it therefore we will proceed.

CHAPTER III.

The Croiſades and their Conſequences.

PILGRIMS and popes had long complained of the diſtreſſes of chriſtians at Jeruſalem. The end of the World was announced to be at hand: and Gregory VII believed he had 50000 men ready to follow him to the holy ſepulchre, if he would place himſelf at their head. At length a native of Picardy, Peter the hermit, in concert with Simeon, the patriarch of Jeruſalem, ſucceeded in perſuading pope Ur- 986. 1000. 1074. 1094. 1095.

and knights: a new power ſprung up in Egypt, that of the mamalukes, with which the noble and valiant Saladin ſtraitened the perfidious, depraved chriſtians, and at length took Jeruſalem; thus putting an end to this little ſhadow of a kingdom, before it had been enabled to celebrate it's centennial jubilee.

1187.

All the ſubſequent croiſades, to maintain or reconquer this kingdom, were in vain: and the little principalities preceded or ſoon followed it in their downfal: Edeſſa remained in the hands of the chriſtians no more than fifty years: and the immenſe croiſade, the ſecond in order, undertaken by the emperor Conrad III, and Lewis VII king of France, at the war-whoop of St. Bernard, with 200000 men, was unable to reſtore it.

1144. 1147.

In the third croiſade, three valiant potentates, the emperor Frederic I, Philip Auguſtus king of France, and Richard the lionhearted of England, took the field againſt Saladin. The firſt was drowned in a river, and his ſon died: the other two, being jealous rivals, and the french king in particular envious of the britiſh, could accompliſh nothing more than the reconqueſt of Acre. Unmindful of his word, Philip Auguſtus returned; and Richard, unable alone to contend againſt the power of Saladin, was obliged reluctantly to follow him. Nay he had the misfortune, as he travelled through Germany in a pilgrim's guiſe, to be ſtopped by Leopold duke of Auſtria, in revenge for a pretended inſult

1189.

at

at the ſiege of Acre, and baſely delivered into the hands of the emperor Henry VI; who ſtill more baſely detained him four years in ſtrict confinement, till, all the world murmuring at 1194. this unknightly action, he ſuffered him to ranſom himſelf for 100000 marks of ſilver.

The fourth croiſade, undertaken by the french, dutch, and venetians, under the count of Mountſerrat, never reached Paleſtine; being led by 1202. the ſelfiſh, revengeful venetians. They took Zara, and ſailed for Conſtantinople: the im- 1204. perial city was twice taken and plundered: the emperor fled: Baldwin, count of Flanders, erected a latin empire in Byzantium: the empire and the ſpoil were divided, and the venetians acquired the richeſt part of the booty, on the Adriatic, the Euxine, and the Grecian ſea. The commander in chief of the expedition became 1205. king of Candia, which iſland alſo he ſold to his covetous allies: and inſtead of the countries beyond the Boſphorus he received the crown of Theſſalonica. A principality of Achaia, and a duchy of Athens, were created for french barons: wealthy venetian nobles were made dukes of Naxos and Negropont: there was a count palatine of Zant and Cephalonia: the grecian empire was ſold like ordinary plunder to the beſt bidder. On the other hand, different branches of the grecian 1204. imperial race erected an empire at Nicæa; a duchy, which afterwards aſſumed the title of empire, at Trebiſond; and a deſpotiſm, afterwards ſtyled an empire

empire likewiſe, in Epirus. As ſo little was left to the new latin emperors of Conſtantinople, this weak and hated throne with difficulty ſtood for fifty years: the emperors of Nicæa retook the an-
1261. cient grecian imperial city; and at length, all theſe poſſeſſions, acquired by adventurers, fell into the hands of the turks.

The fifth croiſade, undertaken by the hungarians and germans, was without effect. The kings
1217. of Hungary and Cyprus, a titular king of Jeruſalem, and the grand maſters of the different orders, ſurrounded Mount Tabor, blocked up the enemy, and had the victory in their hands: but jealouſy and diſcord robbed them of their advantage; and the croiſaders returned home, foiled and dejected.

Urged inceſſantly by the papal court, the emperor Frederic II diſpatched a fleet to the Holy Land. An advantageous truce was on the
1221. point of being concluded; but it was fruſtrated by the pope's legate: and as the emperor, compelled greatly againſt his inclinations, entered on the campaign, the pope himſelf hindered
1228. all probability of it's ſucceſs, by an abſurd
1229. ban, and a treacherous attack upon the european dominions of the emperor. A truce was concluded with the ſultan of Bagdad; Paleſtine and Jeruſalem were yielded to the emperor; but the holy ſepulchre remained in the hands of the ſaracens, as a free port for pilgrims from all quarters.

This divided poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem, however, continued

continued ſcarcely fifteen years; and St. Lewis was unable to regain it by his croiſade, the ſeventh in order, and of all the moſt unfortunate. He himſelf, with his whole army, fell into the hands of the enemy in Egypt: he was obliged to purchaſe his ranſom at a great price: and on a ſecond expedition, equally uſeleſs and unfortunate, againſt the moors, he ended his life before Tunis. His melancholy example at length ſtifled the ſenſeleſs propenſity to religious wars in Paleſtine; and the laſt of the chriſtian cities there, Tyre, Acre, Antioch, and Tripoli, fell, one after another, into the hands of the mamalukes. Thus ended this infatuation, which had coſt european chriſtendom immenſe ſums of money, and multitudes of men: and what were it's conſequences *?

1244. 1248. 1250. 1270. 1268. 1288.

It has been cuſtomary, to aſcribe ſo many beneficial effects to the croiſades, that, conformably to this opinion, our quarter of the Globe muſt require a ſimilar fever, to agitate and excite it's forces, once in every five or ſix centuries; but a cloſer inſpection will ſhow, that moſt of theſe effects proceeded not from the croiſades, at leaſt not from them alone; and that, among the various impulſes Europe then received, they were at moſt accelerating ſhocks, acting upon the whole in collateral or oblique directions, with which the minds of

* I have never ſeen the eſſays and prize papers, concerning the effects of the croiſades, written at the inſtigation of different learned ſocieties: therefore I deliver my own opinion, without reference to any of them.

europeans

europeans might well have diſpenſed. Indeed it is a mere phantom of the brain, to frame one prime ſource of events out of ſeven diſtinct expeditions, undertaken in a period of two centuries, by different nations, and from various motives, ſolely becauſe they bore one common name.

1. *Trade*, we have ſeen, the europeans had already opened with the arabian ſtates, before the croiſades: and they were at liberty to have profited by it, and extended it, in a far more honourable way, than by predatory campaigns. By theſe, indeed, carriers, bankers, and purveyors, were gainers: but all their gain accrued from the chriſtians, againſt whoſe property they were in fact the croiſaders. What was torn from the greek empire was a diſgraceful trader's booty, ſerving, by extremely enfeebling this empire, to render Conſtantinople an eaſier prey at a future period to the turkiſh hordes, who were continually preſſing more cloſely upon it. The venetian lion of St. Mark prepared the way, by the fourth croiſade, for the turks to enter Europe, and ſpread themſelves ſo widely in it. The genoeſe, it is true, aſſiſted one branch of the greek emperors to reaſcend the throne: but it was the throne of a weakened, broken empire, which fell an eaſy prey to the turks; then both the venetians and genoeſe loſt their beſt poſſeſſions, and finally almoſt all their trade, in the Mediterranean and Euxine ſeas.

2. *Chivalry* aroſe not from the croiſades, but the croiſades from chivalry: the flower of french and norman knighthood appeared in Paleſtine in the firſt

firſt campaign. The croiſades, indeed, contributed rather to rob chivalry of it's proper honours, and to convert real armed knights into mere armorial ones. For in Paleſtine many aſſumed the creſted helmet, which in Europe they durſt not have born: they brought home with them armorial devices and nobility, which they tranſmitted to their families, and thus introduced a new claſs, the nobility of the heralds office, and in time alſo nobility by letters patent. As the number of the ancient dynaſties, the true equeſtrian nobility, leſſened, theſe new men ſought to obtain poſſeſſions, and hereditary prerogatives, like them: they carefully enumerated their anceſtors, acquired dignities and privileges, and in a few generations aſſumed the title of ancient nobility; though they had not the ſlighteſt prétenſions, to rank with thoſe dynaſties, which were princes to them. Every man, that bore arms in Paleſtine, might become a knight: the firſt croiſades were years of general jubilee for Europe. Theſe new nobles in right of military ſervice were ſoon of great uſe to growing monarchy, which cunningly knew how to avail itſelf of them againſt ſuch of the ſuperiour vaſſals as ſtill remained. Thus paſſion balances paſſion, and one appearance obliterates another: and at length the nobility of the camp and the court totally ſupplanted the ancient chivalry.

3. It is ſelf-evident, that the orders of *ſpiritual knights*, founded in Paleſtine, were of no advantage to Europe. They ſtill conſume the capital, once dedicated

dedicated to the holy ſepulchre, an object wholly dead to us. The hoſpitallers were to receive
1100. pilgrims on their arrival, nurſe the ſick, and adminiſter to the leper: theſe are the lofty knights of St. Johſn of our time. When a nobleman of Dauphiny, Raymond du Puy, introduced
1130. among them the vow of carrying arms, the order of Lazarus ſeparated from them, and adhered to the primitive inſtitution. The templars were regular canons, lived ten years on alms
1119. themſelves, and protected the pilgrims to the holy ſepulchre; till, their property increaſing, their ſtatutes were altered, and the knights
1128. had their eſquires; the order, it's lay brothers. Laſtly, the teutonic order was founded for the aſſiſtance of the ſick and wounded left on the field: bread, water, and clothing, were it's rewards; till it alſo became rich and powerful, from it's uſeful ſervices againſt the infidels.

All theſe orders diſplayed much valour,
1190. and much pride, in the Holy Land; and likewiſe treachery and diſloyalty: but with Paleſtine their hiſtory might well have terminated.
1290. When the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem were compelled to quit this country; when they had loſt Cyprus and Rhodes, and Charles V had beſtowed on them the rock of Malta; how
1309. ſingular was the commiſſion, to remain to
1530. eternity croiſaders out of Paleſtine, and on that ſcore to enjoy poſſeſſions in kingdoms ſafe from the attacks of the turks, and which no pilgrim could traverſe

traverſe in his way to the Holy Land! Lewis VII received the order of Lazarus into France, and would have reclaimed it to the original purpoſe of it's inſtitution, the care of the ſick: more than one pope was deſirous of ſuppreſſing it: but it was protected by the kings of France, and Lewis XIV united it with ſome other trifling orders. In this his ſentiments differed from thoſe of his anceſtor, Philip the fair, who barbarouſly exterminated the templars from motives of avarice and revenge; and appropriated to himſelf their eſtates, to which he had no claim. Finally, the teutonic knights were called in by a duke of Maſſovia to aſſiſt him againſt the heathen pruſſians, and obtained from a german emperor the gift of all the land they could conquer on the occaſion, except what belonged to himſelf. They ſubdued Pruſſia; united with the brothers of the ſword in Livonia; obtained Eſthonia from a king, who was unable to hold it: and thus at length ruled in knightly luxury and licentiouſneſs from the Viſtula to the Dwina and Neva. The ancient pruſſian nation was exterminated; lithuanians and ſamoiedes, courlanders, lettonians, and eſthonians, were divided as live ſtock among the german nobles. After long wars with the poles, they loſt half Pruſſia, and then the whole; and at length Livonia and Courland alſo. In theſe regions they left nothing behind them, but the repute, that it was ſcarcely poſſible for a conquered country, to be ruled more proudly and oppreſſively,

1254. 1312. 1226. 1466. 1525. 1560.

preſſively, than they ruled theſe coaſts, which, had they been cultivated by ſome maritime ſtates, would certainly have aſſumed a very different appearance. Upon the whole it may be ſaid, that the three orders abovementioned belonged not to Europe, but to Paleſtine. There they were founded; there they appeared in their place. There they might fight the infidels, attend hoſpitals, protect the holy ſepulchre, adminiſter to the leper, and conduct the pilgrim. Their inſtitutions ſhould have been extinguiſhed with theſe objects: their eſtates ſhould have been conſigned to chriſtian works, they were the eſpecial property of the ſick and the poor.

4. As the new armorial nobility was indebted ſolely to the growth of monarchy in Europe for it's eſtabliſhment: ſo the *freedom of cities*, the origin of communities, and laſtly the emancipation of the peaſantry, in this quarter of the Globe, are to be aſcribed to cauſes very different from the mad croiſades. That in their firſt febrile paroxyſm a reſpite was granted to all prodigal houſeholders and debtors; that vaſſals and bondſmen were diſcharged from their duties, tributaries from their tribute, and thoſe who were liable to impoſts from their taxes; moſt certainly formed not the baſis, on which the right of liberty in Europe reſts. Cities had long been erected; the rights of more ancient cities had long been confirmed and extended: and if the growing induſtry and commerce of theſe cities ſooner or later embraced the liberty of the peaſant

peaſant alſo; if the endeavours of ſuch municipalities after independence were neceſſarily included in the progreſs of riſing monarchy; ſurely we need not ſeek in Paleſtine, what the ever changing ſcene of events in Europe alone could produce. The durable ſyſtem of Europe could ſcarcely have proceeded from a religious folly.

5. The *arts and ſciences*, too, were nowiſe promoted by the proper croiſaders. The diſorderly troops, that firſt flocked to Paleſtine, had not the leaſt notion of them; and were not likely to acquire them in the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, or from the turks and mamalukes in Aſia. In the ſucceeding campaigns we need only reflect on the ſhort time the armies paſſed there; and the wretched circumſtances, under which this time was often ſpent merely on the confines of the country; to diſſipate the ſplendid dream of great diſcoveries imported thence. The pendulum clock, which the emperor Frederic II received as a preſent from Meledin, introduced not gnomonics into Europe; the grecian palaces, which the croiſaders admired in Conſtantinople, improved not the ſtyle of european architecture. Some croiſaders, particularly Frederic I and II, laboured to promote the progreſs of knowledge: but Frederic I did this ere he beheld Aſia; and the ſhort viſit paid that country by Frederic II ſerved only as a freſh ſtimulus, to urge him forward in that courſe of government, which he had long before choſen. Not one of the ſpiritual orders of knighthood introduced any new

knowledge into Europe, or contributed to it's cultivation.

All that can be ſaid in favour of the croiſades, therefore, is confined to a few occaſions, on which they cooperated with cauſes already exiſting, and involuntarily promoted them.

1. As multitudes of wealthy vaſſals and knights repaired to the Holy Land in the firſt campaigns, and many of them never returned, their eſtates were of courſe ſold, or ſwallowed up in others. By this they profited who could, the liege lord, the church, the cities already eſtabliſhed, each after his own manner: this promoted and accelerated the courſe of things, tending to confirm the regal power by the erection of a middle claſs, but was by no means it's commencement.

2. Men became acquainted with countries, people, religions, and conſtitutions, of which they were before ignorant; their narrow ſphere of viſion was enlarged; they acquired new ideas, new impulſes. Attention was drawn to things, which would otherwiſe have been neglected; what had long exiſted in Europe was employed to better purpoſe; and as the World was found to be wider than had been ſuppoſed, curioſity was excited after a knowledge of it's remoteſt parts. The mighty conqueſts made by Genghis-Khan in the north and eaſt of Aſia attracted men's eyes chiefly toward Tatary; whither Marco Polo, the venetian, Rubruquis, a frenchman, and John de Plano Carpino, an italian, travelled with very different views; the

the firſt, for the purpoſe of trade; the ſecond, to ſatisfy royal curioſity; the third, ſent by the pope, to make converts of the people. Theſe travels, of courſe, have no connexion with the croiſades, before and after which they were undertaken. The Levant itſelf is leſs known to us from theſe expeditions, than might have been expected: the accounts the orientals give of it, even in the period when Syria ſwarmed with chriſtians, are ſtill indiſpenſable to us.

3. Finally, on this holy theatre europeans became better acquainted with each other, though not in a manner much to be prized. With this more intimate acquaintance kings and princes for the moſt part brought home an implacable enmity: in particular the wars between England and France derived from it freſh fuel. The unfortunate experiment, that a chriſtian republic could and might contend in uniſon againſt infidels, formed a precedent for ſimilar wars in Europe, which have ſince extended to other quarters of the Globe. At the ſame time it cannot be denied, that, while the neighbouring powers of Europe obtained a cloſer inſpection of their mutual weakneſſes and ſtrength, ſome obſcure hints were given for a more comprehenſive policy, and a new ſyſtem of relationſhip in peace and war. Every one was deſirous of wealth, trade, conveniences, and luxuries; as an uncultivated mind is prone, to admire theſe in ſtrangers, and envy them in the hands of another. Few, who returned from the eaſt, could be ſatisfied with european manners: even their heroiſm left much be-

hind, awkwardly imitated Aſia in the weſt, or longed for freſh travels and adventures. For the reſt, the actual and permanent good produced by any event is always proportionate to it's conſonancy with reaſon.

Unfortunate would it have been for Europe, if, at the time when it's military ſwarms were contending for the holy ſepulchre in a corner of Syria, the arms of Genghis-Khan had been ſooner and more powerfully turned toward the weſt. Then probably our quarter of the Globe would have been the prey of the mungals, like Poland and Ruſſia; and it's nations might have diſlodged, with the pilgrim's ſtaff in their hands, to tell their beads round the object of their contention. Let us quit theſe wild fanatics, therefore, and take a retroſpect of Europe; that we may ſee how the courſe of events, reciprocally acting on each other, gradually enlightened and formed the moral and political reaſon of mankind.

CHAPTER IV.

Cultivation of Reaſon in Europe.

In the early ages of chriſtianity we obſerved numerous ſects, that attempted to elucidate, apply, and refine the ſyſtem of religion, through the means of an *oriental philoſophy*, as it was called. Theſe were oppreſſed and perſecuted as heretics. The doctrine of *Manes*, which, after the manner of Zoroaſter (Zerduſht), included a moral inſtitution, and the deſign

deſign of operating as an active inſtructor on the community, ſeems to have ſtruck the deepeſt root. This was more ſeverely perſecuted than theoretical hereſies; and took refuge eaſtwards in the mountains of Tibet, weſtwards in thoſe of Armenia, and here and there in european countries, in all of which it experienced the ſame fate as in Aſia.

It was long imagined to be ſuppreſſed, till, in the profundity of the dark ages, it burſt forth, as at a ſignal given, from a country whence it was leaſt expected, and at once occaſioned a prodigious uproar in Italy, Spain, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany. This country was *Bulgaria*; a barbarous province, for which the greek and latin churches had long contended: there was it's inviſible head, who, far different from the pope of Rome, profeſſed to reſemble Chriſt in poverty. Secret miſſions went into all parts, and attracted, not only the common people, eſpecially induſtrious mechanics and the oppreſſed peaſantry, but alſo the wealthy and the noble, particularly women, with a power, that braved the ſevereſt perſecution, and death itſelf. Their placid doctrines, which enforced pure human virtues; induſtry, chaſtity, and orderlineſs, in particular; and held up a pattern of perfection, to which the community ſhould be led in a very diſtinguiſhed manner; were a loud war-whoop againſt the prevailing abominations of the church. They directly attacked the morals of the clergy, their wealth, ambition, and licentiouſneſs; rejected their ſuperſtitious doctrines and practices, the immoral magic of which they

denied; and inſtead of all theſe admitted a ſimple benediction by the impoſition of hands, and an union of the members under their leaders, the perfect. According to them, tranſubſtantiation, crucifixes, maſſes, purgatory, the interceſſion of ſaints, and the inherent preeminence of the romiſh prieſthood, were human doctrines and inventions. The Scriptures, particularly of the Old Teſtament, they judged very freely, reducing the whole to poverty, purity of body and mind, quiet induſtry, gentleneſs, and benevolence; hence in many ſects they received the appellation of *bons hommes, the good people.* Among the moſt ancient of them the oriental manicheiſm is palpable: they ſet out with the conteſt between light and darkneſs, held matter for the origin of ſin, and entertained very rigid notions of ſenſual pleaſure. By degrees their ſyſtem was purified. Out of theſe manicheans, who were alſo called cathars (heretics), patarenes, publicans, *paſſagieri*, and by various other names in different countries, according to local circumſtances, individual teachers, particularly Henry and Peter de Bruis, formed leſs offenſive parties; till at length the waldenſes taught, and maintained with great courage, almoſt every thing, that proteſtantiſm preached ſome centuries after. The earlier ſects appear to have reſembled the anabaptiſts, mennonites, bohemian brethren, and other ſects of modern times. All theſe ſpread themſelves in ſilence ſo powerfully, and with ſuch perſuaſive impreſſion, that the conſequence of the clergy declined extremely in whole provinces, particularly as theſe were by no means a match

a match for them in diſputation. The countries, in which the *provençal language* prevailed, were the ſpots in which they moſt flouriſhed: they tranſlated the New Teſtament, an undertaking at that time unheard of, into this language; publiſhed their *rules of perfection* in provençal verſe; and were the firſt, who *inſtructed and formed the people in their vernacular language, after the introduction of the romiſh religion* *.

On theſe accounts, however, they were perſecuted, as far as they were known, and according to the power poſſeſſed by their enemies. So early as the beginning of the eleventh century, ma- 1022. nicheans were burned at Orleans, in the heart of France, and among them even the confeſſor of the queen: they refuſed to recant, and died in the profeſſion of their faith. They experienced equal ſeverity in every country, in which the clergy could exerciſe their authority, as in Italy, and the ſouth of Germany: but in the ſouth of France, and in the Netherlands, where the magiſtrates protected them as induſtrious people, they lived a long time in peace; till, after various diſputations had taken place, and ſeveral councils been held, when the fury of the clergy was wrought to the 1200. higheſt pitch, the tribunal of the inquiſition was

* Among the writings on theſe ſects, of which eccleſiaſtical hiſtory gives a full account, I ſhall only mention one book, far leſs known than it deſerves, J. C. Fueſsli's *Neue und unpartheiiſche Ketzer und Kirchenhiſtorie der mittleren Zeit*, 'New and impartial Hiſtory of Hereſies, and of the Church in the Middle Age,' 3 vols, 8vo, in which very uſeful documents may be found.

let looſe upon them; and as their protector, Raymond count of Toulouſe, a real martyr in the cauſe of humankind, would not give them up, that dreadful croiſade, with all it's ſuperabundance of atrocities, burſt forth upon them. The order of friars eſtabliſhed to preach againſt hereſy, the dominicans, founded expreſsly to oppoſe them, were their deteſtable judges: Simon of Montford, the leader of the croiſade, was the moſt inhuman monſter the Earth ever bore: and from this corner of France, where the poor *bons hommes* had remained concealed for two centuries, the bloody tribunal againſt heretics extended itſelf to Spain, Italy, and moſt catholic countries.

Hence the confuſion in which the moſt oppoſite ſects of the middle ages are involved, as they were all indiſcriminate objects of this bloody tribunal, and the perſecuting ſpirit of the clergy: yet hence, likewiſe, their ſtedfaſtneſs, and ſilent ſpread, ſo that after three or four centuries the proteſtant reformation in all countries found the ſeeds ſtill exiſting, to which it only imparted a new vivifying power. Wickliff in England acted upon the lollards, as Huſs did upon his bohemians; for ſects of this pious kind had long abounded among the bohemians, whoſe language and that of the bulgarians were the ſame. The germe of truth now planted, and the decided hatred to ſuperſtition, the adoration of mortals, and the inſolent, ungodly clergy, were incapable of being again trodden under foot: the franciſcans, and other orders, which, as examples of poverty and the imitation of Chriſt, were ſet up in oppoſition

oppoſition to theſe ſects, to overturn and ſuppreſs them, were ſo far from accompliſhing this end, even among the people, that they rather afforded freſh occaſion for ſcandal. Thus the future downfal of the chief of tyrants, the hierarchy, proceeded from the meaneſt beginnings, from ſimplicity and ſincerity: theſe ſimple *bons hommes*, though not without their prejudices and errours, certainly uſed more freedom of ſpeech in ſeveral reſpects, than many of the reformers could afterwards venture to employ.

What plain common ſenſe did on the one hand, was promoted not ineffectually, though more ſlowly and with greater refinement, on the other, by *ſpeculative reaſon*. In the ſchools of the convents the pupils were taught to diſpute on St. Auſtin and the logic of Ariſtotle; and accuſtomed themſelves to this art, as a literary trial of ſkill. The cenſures paſſed on this liberty of diſputation, as an uſeleſs exerciſe of the middle ages, are therefore unjuſt: for this liberty, at that period, was ineſtimable. In theſe diſputations many things could be controverted, and ſifted by oppoſing arguments, for the poſitive or practical queſtioning of which the times were not yet ripe. Did not the reformation itſelf begin by men's taking ſhelter under the laws of diſputation, and claiming the protection of it's licence? As the monaſtic ſchools became univerſities, that is theatres of controverſy, protected by the papal and imperial licence, a wide field was opened, for exerciſing and improving the language,

preſence

preſence of mind, wit, and ſagacity, of learned polemics. There is not an article of divinity, or a ſubject of metaphyſics, that has not occaſioned the moſt ſubtile queſtions, diſputes, and diſtinctions, and in time been ſpun out to the fineſt thread. This fineſpun texture naturally poſſeſſed leſs ſtability, than that coarſe web of poſitive traditions, to which an implicit faith was required: and being fabricated by human Reaſon, it could be unravelled and deſtroyed by that ſame Reaſon, as the work of her own hands. Thanks, therefore, to that ſubtile ſpirit of diſputation of the middle ages; and to every ſovereign, who erected palaces for it's learned webs! If many of the diſputants were perſecuted from motives of envy, or from their own want of caution; if, after their death, their bodies were diſinterred from conſecrated ground; ſtill the art, on the whole, continued it's progreſs, and greatly improved the weapons of reaſon in Europe.

As the ſouth of France was the firſt permanent ſtage of an emerging popular religion, it's northern part, eſpecially in the celebrated pariſian ſchool, was the theatre of *ſpeculation and ſcholaſtic philoſophy*. Here Paſchaſius and Ratramnus lived: Scotus Erigena found favour and a reſidence in France: Lanfranc and Berengarius, Anſelm, Abelard, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Occam, and Duns Scotus, the morning ſtars and ſuns of ſchool philoſophy, taught in France, either the whole of their lives, or during their beſt years: and men of all countries flocked to Paris, to learn this chief

chief wiſdom of the times. Whoever had rendered himſelf famous in this ſucceeded to poſts of honour in church and ſtate: for ſcholaſtic philoſophy was ſo far from being excluded from political affairs, that Occam, who had defended Philip the fair, and Lewis of Bavaria, againſt the pope, could ſay to the emperor, 'defend me with the ſword, I will defend you with my pen.' The french language is indebted for its ſuperiour philoſophical preciſion to this circumſtance among others, that ready and ſubtile diſputation was ſo long and ſo much purſued in it's native country; for it was allied to the latin, and eaſily adapted itſelf to the expreſſion of abſtract ideas.

That *the tranſlation of the works of Ariſtotle* contributed more than any thing to the ſubtile philoſophy of the ſchools is evident, from the authority this grecian ſage retained in all the ſeminaries of Europe for ſeveral centuries: but the cauſes of the avidity, with which his writings, borrowed chiefly from the arabs, were ſtudied, are to be ſought in the diſpoſition and way of thinking of the age, not in the croiſades. The firſt ſtimulus Europe received from the ſciences of the arabs aroſe from their mathematical performances, and the ſecrets men hoped to find in them for the ſupport and prolongation of life, the attainment of immenſe riches, and the knowledge of mutable deſtiny. The philoſopher's ſtone, and the elixir of immortality, were ſought after; future events were read in the ſtars, and even mathematical inſtruments conſidered as implements of magic. Thus men purſued the wonderful like children,

children, and were prompted by it to the moſt arduous journeys; a purſuit, which, diſappointed of it's object, was deſtined to be rewarded with the future acquiſition of truth. As early as the eleventh century, Conſtantine the african had ſpent 39 years in travelling from Carthage over the eaſt, to collect the ſecrets of the arabs in Babylon, India, and Egypt. At length he came to Europe, and as a monk at Mount Caſino tranſlated many writings, particularly medical, from the arabic and the greek. However defective the tranſlations may have been, they came into many hands, and the firſt ſchool of phyſic at Salernum aroſe to great fame, by the help of arabian knowledge. Such of the french and engliſh as were eager after learning repaired to Spain, that they might enjoy the benefit of being inſtructed by the moſt celebrated arabian teachers. On their return they were conſidered as magicians, and even boaſted of various ſecret arts as the effects of magic. Thus mathematics, chymiſtry, and phyſic, were introduced into the moſt celebrated ſchools of Europe, partly in writings, partly in diſcoveries and practical experiments. But for the arabs, no Gerbert, no Albertus Magnus, Arnold of Villa Nova, Roger Bacon, Raymund Lully, &c. would have ariſen. Even the emperor Frederic II, who contributed with indefatigable zeal, to promote the tranſlation of arabic works, and the revival of every ſcience, was not perfectly free from ſuperſtition in his attachment to learning. The propenſity to travel, or the rumour of travels to Spain, Africa, and the eaſt, where the moſt valuable

luable ſecrets of nature were to be learned from retired ſages, prevailed for centuries: many ſecret orders, and numerous confraternities of travelling ſcholars, aroſe from this; and indeed the whole aſpect of the philoſophical and mathematical ſciences betrayed this arabian origin even beyond the epoch of the reformation.

No wonder, that *myſticiſm* united with ſuch a philoſophy, thus moulding itſelf to one of the moſt refined ſyſtems of contemplative perfection. Even in the firſt chriſtian church myſticiſm had paſſed from the modern platonic philoſophy into ſeveral ſects; the tranſlation of the ſpurious Dionyſius the areopagite introduced it into the monaſteries of the weſt; many ſects of the manicheans were infected with it; and at length, with and without the aid of the ſcholaſtic philoſophy, it attained a degree of conſiſtency among the monks and nuns, in which it diſplayed ſometimes the moſt ſubtile ſophiſtry of human reaſon, at others the moſt refined tenderneſs of the enamoured heart. This, however, was not without it's benefits; as it called off the mind from mere ceremonial worſhip, accuſtomed it to enter into itſelf, and animated it with mental food. It afforded the languiſhing, ſolitary mind, ſeparated from this World, conſolation and exerciſe, while it refined the ſentiments by a ſort of ſpiritual romance. It was the precurſor of the metaphyſics of the heart, as the ſchool philoſophy prepared the way for that of the underſtanding, and each ſerved as a counterpoiſe to the other. Happy for us, that the time

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is almoſt paſt, in which the uſe of this opiate is requiſite as a medicine*.

Laſtly, *the ſcience of juriſprudence*, this practical philoſophy of the ſenſe of juſtice and ſound reaſon, when it began to ſhine with freſh light, contributed more than myſticiſm and ſpeculative philoſophy to the welfare of Europe, and the firm eſtabliſhment of the rights of ſociety. In the ages of honourable ſimplicity few written laws were requiſite; and the rude germanic nations properly ſtrove againſt the ſubtilties of the roman juriſts: more poliſhed and partly corrupted countries found written laws of their own, and ſoon an abſtract of the roman law, altogether indiſpenſable. And as this at length became inſufficient in oppoſition to a progreſſive papal juriſprudence, increaſing with every century, it was not amiſs, that the whole code of roman law ſhould be brought forward, to exerciſe the judgment and underſtanding of enlightened and active men. With good reaſon did the emperors recommend this ſtudy, particularly in the higher ſeminaries of their italian dominions: for it was a ſchool of arms againſt the pope, and all riſing free-ſtates were equally intereſted in availing themſelves of it, againſt the pope, the emperor, and their petty tyrants. Accordingly the number of lawyers increaſed aſtoniſhingly: as knights in the realm of literature, as defenders of the liberty and property of nations, they were

* After all that has been written by Poiret, Arnold, and others, we ſtill want a hiſtory of myſticiſm, particularly of the middle ages, compoſed in a truly philoſophical ſpirit.

highly

highly reſpected in courts, in cities, and in the chair of ſcience; and on their account the much frequented city of Bologna was eſteemed the ſeat of learning.

The riſe of the law rendered Italy what France was in the philoſophy of the ſchools: the old roman and the canon law contended againſt each other: even ſeveral popes were men of the greateſt eminence in juriſprudence. Pity, that the reanimation of this ſcience happened at a time, when the ſources were impure, and the ſpirit of the old roman law could be ſeen only through a miſt. Pity, that the ſubtile philoſophy of the ſchools arrogated to itſelf this practical ſcience, and perverted the deciſions of the intelligent by a captious play upon words. Pity too, that an auxiliary ſtudy, an exercise of the judgment on the model of the ſages of antiquity, ſhould have been taken as a poſitive rule, as the goſpel of the law, in all caſes, even the moſt novel, and fartheſt from being determined. Hence aroſe that ſpirit of chicane, which in time nearly extinguiſhed the character of almoſt every national legiſlation in Europe. Barbarous book-learning aſſumed the place of a living knowledge of things: legal proceſſes became labyrinths of form and quibble: inſtead of a noble ſentiment of juſtice, men's minds were turned to artifice and cunning, which rendered the language of the laws and of the courts perplexed and unintelligible, and ultimately, in conjunction with the triumphant power of the magiſtrate, favoured a ſpurious paramount right of the ſovereign.

ſovereign. The conſequences of this have long continued to be felt.

Were we to compare the ſtate of the human mind on it's reawaking in Europe with ſome of the more ancient times and nations, it would afford a melancholy proſpect. Every thing good riſes tremblingly from rude and ſtupid barbariſm, under the preſſure of ſpiritual and temporal tyranny: here, the beſt ſeeds are trodden down on the ſtony ſoil, or ſcattered by the plundering birds; there, the young plants riſe with difficulty amid the thorns, and are choked or ſtunted, as they want the favourable ſoil of ancient goodneſs and ſimplicity. The firſt popular religion appeared amid perſecuted and in ſome degree fanatical heretics; philoſophy, in the theatres of diſputing logicians; the moſt uſeful ſciences, as magic and ſuperſtition; the guidance of the human paſſions, as myſticiſm; an improved political ſyſtem, as the patched and caſt-off mantle of a long ſuperannuated and heterogeneous legiſlation: and through theſe Europe was to raiſe herſelf from a ſtate of the utmoſt confuſion, and form herſelf anew. What the ſoil wanted, however, in depth of fertile mould; the implements and auxiliary means, in utility; the air, in ſerenity and freedom; was compenſated, probably, by the extent of the field to be cultivated, and the value of the plants to be produced. Not an Athens, or a Sparta, but an Europe was here to be formed; and this not to the *kalokagathie* of a grecian philoſopher or artiſt, but to a reaſon and humanity, that in time ſhould embrace the World.

Let

Let us ſee what inſtitutions have been framed for this, what diſcoveries have been ſcattered in the darkneſs of ages, to be ripened by futurity.

CHAPTER V.

Inſtitutions and Diſcoveries in Europe.

1. THE cities of Europe are become as it were fixed camps of cultivation, workſhops of induſtry, and the commencement of an improved political economy, without which this country would be ſtill a deſert. In all the territories of the roman empire, theſe cities retained ſome portion of the roman arts: and in countries, which the romans had never poſſeſſed, they were mounds oppoſing the incurſion of freſh barbarians; and the aſylums of men, of trade, of arts, and manufactures. Praiſed for ever be the ſovereigns, who founded, endowed, and protected them: for with them were founded conſtitutions, that firſt gave public ſpirit room to breathe; ariſtocratico-democratical bodies were formed, the members of which watched over each other, were often mutual enemies and opponents, and on this very account unavoidably promoted the common ſecurity, emulative induſtry, and progreſſive exertion. Within the walls of a city, all that could awaken and give conſiſtency to invention, diligence, civil liberty, economy, policy, and order, according

to the times, was condenſed together in a narrow ſpace: the laws of many cities are maſterpieces of civic wiſdom. Through the means of cities, nobles, as well as communities, enjoyed the firſt title of common liberty, *citizenſhip*. In Italy republics aroſe, which went farther through the means of their trade, than Athens and Sparta had ever gone: on this ſide the Alps, not only did individual cities diſtinguiſh themſelves by induſtry and commerce, but alliances were formed between them, and ultimately a commercial ſtate, which extended over the Euxine and the Mediterranean, the Atlantic ocean, the North Sea, and the Baltic. Theſe cities lay in Germany, the Netherlands, and the northern kingdoms, Poland, Pruſſia, Ruſſia, and Livonia. Lubec was their head, and the chief trading towns of England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, joined their aſſociation; forming perhaps the moſt efficacious alliance, that ever exiſted. This contributed more to give Europe the form of a commonwealth, than all the croiſades and romiſh rites; for it roſe ſuperiour to religious or national diſtinctions, and founded the connexion of ſtates on mutual advantage, emulative induſtry, probity, and order. Cities accompliſhed what was beyond the power of princes, prieſts, and nobles: they formed of Europe *one common* co-operative body.

2. The guilds in cities, troubleſome as they often were to the magiſtracy, and even to the growing arts, were at that time indiſpenſable, as little com-

monwealths, as aſſociated bodies, in which all were anſwerable for each, to the ſupport of honeſt trade, the improvement of the arts, and the honour and eſteem of the artiſts themſelves. By their means Europe became the manufacturer of all the productions of the Globe; and thus, though the ſmalleſt and pooreſt quarter of it, obtained an aſcendancy over the reſt. To it's induſtry Europe is indebted for the production of wonders from wool and flax, hemp and ſilk, hair and ſkins, earth and clay, ſtones, metals, plants, juices, and colours, aſhes, ſalts, rags, and excrement, which again ſerved as means to produce other wonders. If the hiſtory of inventions be the greateſt praiſe of the human intellect, guilds and corporations have been their ſchool; as by the ſeparation of the arts, and methodical regularity of inſtruction, by the mutual emulation of many, and by the ſtimulus of want, things were produced, which the favour of the ſovereign or the ſtate ſcarcely knew, ſeldom promoted or rewarded, and rarely if ever excited. Diſcipline and order produced them under the ſhade of a peaceful city government: the moſt ingenious arts aroſe from mechanical labours and enterpriſes, the garb of which they long wore, particularly on this ſide the Alps, not to their diſadvantage. Let us not ridicule, therefore, or pity the formalities and introductory ſteps of every ſuch practical regulation; for with them were connected the eſſence of art, and the common honour of artiſts. The monk and the knight had far leſs need of initiatory

degrees than the active artificer, for the perfection of whose work the whole fraternity was in some measure answerable: for to every thing, that bears the name of art, nothing is so detrimental as underhand dealings, and the want of a sense of honour arising from being master of it; by which the very foundations of the art are sapped.

Let us honour, therefore, the masterworks of the middle ages, which evince how much arts and trades are indebted to cities. Gothic architecture would never have attained it's flourishing state, had not republics and wealthy commercial cities so eagerly rivalled each other in townhalls and cathedrals, as once the cities of Greece in temples and statues. In each we can discern whence the models of it's taste were derived, and the country to which the stream of it's commerce flowed: the most ancient edifices of Venice and Pisa display a different style of architecture from those of Milan or Florence. The transalpine cities followed various models; but, on the whole, the better gothic architecture is most easily explicable from the constitutions of the cities, and the spirit of the times. For as men live and think, so they build and inhabit: foreign models they can copy only after their own manner, as every bird constructs her nest conformably to her figure, and mode of living. The boldest and most ornamental gothic architecture would never have taken place in convents, or in the castles of knights: it is the peculiar magnificence of public communities. In like manner,

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the moſt valuable works of art of the middle ages diſplayed the coats of arms of families, communities, and cities, on metals, ivory, glaſs, wood, tapeſtry, or veſtments; on which account they have in general a permanent intrinſic worth, and are juſtly an inalienable property of cities and families. Thus civic induſtry wrote chronicles, alſo; in which, it is true, the writer's houſe, family, trade, and city, are his World: but then his heart and ſoul are proportionally engaged in his ſubject; and happy the country, that can frame it's hiſtory from many ſuch, and not from the chronicles of monks. In the councils of cities, too, the roman juriſprudence was firſt wiſely and efficaciouſly reſtricted; otherwiſe it would have ultimately ſtifled the beſt ſtatutes and rights of nations.

3. *Univerſities* were literary cities and corporations: they were inſtituted with ſimilar rights, as commonwealths, and participate their merits. Not as ſchools, but as political bodies, they weakened the barbarous pride of the nobility, ſupported the cauſe of ſovereigns againſt the pretenſions of the popes, and opened the way to political ſervices and rank for a properly learned claſs, inſtead of the excluſive clergy. Never, perhaps, did men of learning enjoy more eſteem, than at the firſt dawn of ſcience: men beheld the indiſpenſable value of a good they had long deſpiſed; and as one party dreaded the light, the other more eagerly hailed the riſing morn. Univerſities were fortreſſes and bulwarks of ſcience againſt the belligerent barbariſm

of

of eccleſiaſtical tyranny: they at leaſt guarded a treaſure, of which the value was but half known, for better times. After Theodoric, Charlemagne, and Alfred, we would particularly honour the aſhes of the emperor Frederic II; who, among his various merits, poſſeſſes that of having given univerſities an impulſe toward improvement, the effects of which were not tranſient. In theſe inſtitutions Germany has become as it were the centre of Europe: in it the arſenals and magazines of ſcience have acquired the greateſt internal abundance, as well as the moſt durable form.

4. Laſtly, we ſhall enumerate a few of the diſcoveries, which, carried into practice, became powerful implements in the hands of poſterity. The *magnetic needle*, the guide of navigation, was probably introduced into Europe by the arabs, and firſt brought into uſe by the merchants of Amalfi, in their early commercial intercourſe with them. With this the World was put into the hands of europeans. The genoeſe ſoon ventured into the Atlantic: and afterwards the portugueſe evinced, that they poſſeſſed not the weſtern ſhores of the old World in vain. They ſought and found a way round Africa, and thus changed the courſe of the whole indian trade: till another genoeſe diſcovered a ſecond hemiſphere, and thus gave a new face to all the relations of our part of the Globe. The little implement of theſe diſcoveries came into Europe with the dawn of ſcience.

Glaſs, an early commodity of the aſiatics, which was

was once eſtimated at it's weight in gold, has become of more value than gold in the hands of europeans. Whether it were Salvino, or ſome other, who poliſhed the firſt lens, he 1255.
thus formed the beginning of an inſtrument, deſtined afterwards to diſcover millions of celeſtial worlds, regulate time and navigation, and aſſiſt the nobleſt ſciences the human mind can boaſt. Already Roger Bacon, the franciſcan friar, in his cell diſcovered wonders, in the proper- 1250.
ties of light, and in almoſt all the realms of nature, for which he was rewarded with the hatred of his order, and with impriſonment; but which were more happily purſued by others, in more enlightened times. The firſt beam of light in the mind of this wonderful man ſhowed him a new world in Heaven and on Earth.

Gunpowder alſo, a murderous, yet on the whole a beneficial gift, was either brought into uſe by the arabs, or at leaſt introduced into Europe by their writings. Here and there it appears from theſe to have been diſcovered by more than one, and but ſlowly applied to practical purpoſes, when it changed the whole face of the art of war. The modern ſtate of Europe was incredibly influenced by this invention; which better ſubdued the ſpirit of chivalry, than all the councils that ever were held; promoted the authority of ſovereigns, more than any aſſemblies of the people; checked the blind fury of perſonally embittered armies; and even ſet limits to that art of war, to which it gave birth.

birth. This and other chymical inventions, above all deſtructive ſpirituous liquors, which the arabs introduced into Europe as medicines, and which have ſince ſpread themſelves as poiſons throughout the wide World, conſtitute epochas in the hiſtory of the human ſpecies.

The ſame may be ſaid of the preparation of *paper* from rags, and the prototypes of *printing* in cards, and other impreſſions of immoveable characters. That probably owed it's origin to the paper fabricated from cotton, and from ſilk, which the arabs brought out of Aſia: this proceeded by ſlow ſteps from one attempt to another, till, from wooden cuts and types, the printer and copperplate engraver produced the moſt important effects on our quarter of the globe. The *arithmetical figures* of the arabs; the *muſical notes* invented by Guido of Arezzo; *clocks*, for which we are indebted to Aſia; oil-painting, an ancient german invention; and other uſeful implements, invented, or adopted and imitated, in various places, before the dawn of ſcience; almoſt always became, in the hothouſe of european induſtry, ſeeds of new things and events for future ages.

CHAPTER VI.

Concluſion.

How, therefore, came Europe by it's cultivation, and the rank it obtained by it above other countries? Time, place, neceſſity, the ſtate of affairs, the ſtream of events, impelled it to this: but, above all, it's *peculiar induſtry in the arts*, the reſult of many *common exertions*, procured it this rank.

1. Had Europe been rich as India, uninterſected as Tatary, hot as Africa, iſolated as America, what has appeared in it would never have been produced. Even in the profoundeſt barbariſm it's ſituation on the Globe helped to reſtore it to light; but from it's rivers and ſeas it derived moſt advantage. Take away the Dnieper, the Don, and the Dwina; the Euxine, Mediterranean, Adriatic, Atlantic, Baltic, and North Seas; with their coaſts, iſlands, and rivers; the great commercial league, to which Europe is indebted for it's beſt activity, would not have exiſted. But as it was, the two great and wealthy quarters of the Globe, Aſia and Africa, embraced their poorer, ſmaller ſiſter; they ſent her their wares and inventions from the remoteſt limits of the World, from regions the earlieſt and longeſt civilized, and thus

whetted her induſtry and powers of invention. The climate of Europe, the remains of the ancient greek and roman worlds, aſſiſted all this: and thus the ſovereignty of Europe is founded on *activity* and *invention*, on *ſcience* and *united emulative exertions*.

2. The *preſſure of the romiſh hierarchy* was perhaps a neceſſary yoke, an indiſpenſable bridle for the rude nations of the middle ages. Without it Europe had probably been the prey of deſpots, a theatre of eternal diſcord, or even a mungal wilderneſs. Thus as a counterpoiſe it merits praiſe: but as the firſt and permanent ſpring it would have converted Europe into a tibetian eccleſiaſtic ſtate. Action and reaction produced an effect, which neither party had intended: want, neceſſity, and danger, brought forward between the two a third ſtate, which muſt be the life-blood of this great active body, or it will run into corruption. This is the *ſtate of ſcience*, of *uſeful activity*, *of emulative induſtry in the arts*; which neceſſarily, yet gradually, puts an end to the periods of chivalry and monachiſm.

3. Of what kind the modern cultivation of Europe could be is evident from what has been ſaid: only a cultivation of men as they were, and were deſirous of being; a cultivation, through the means of induſtry, arts, and ſciences. He, who needed not, deſpiſed, or abuſed theſe, remained what he was: an univerſal, reciprocating formation of all ranks and nations, by means of edu-

cation, laws, and a political constitution, was not then to be thought of; and when will it be? Reason, however, and the effective joint activity of mankind, keep on their unwearied course; and it may even be deemed a good sign, when the best fruits ripen not prematurely.

THE END.

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